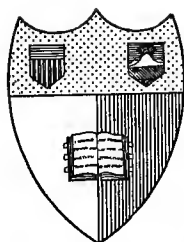




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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEEWARD  
ISLANDS UNDER THE RESTORATION  
1660—1688**

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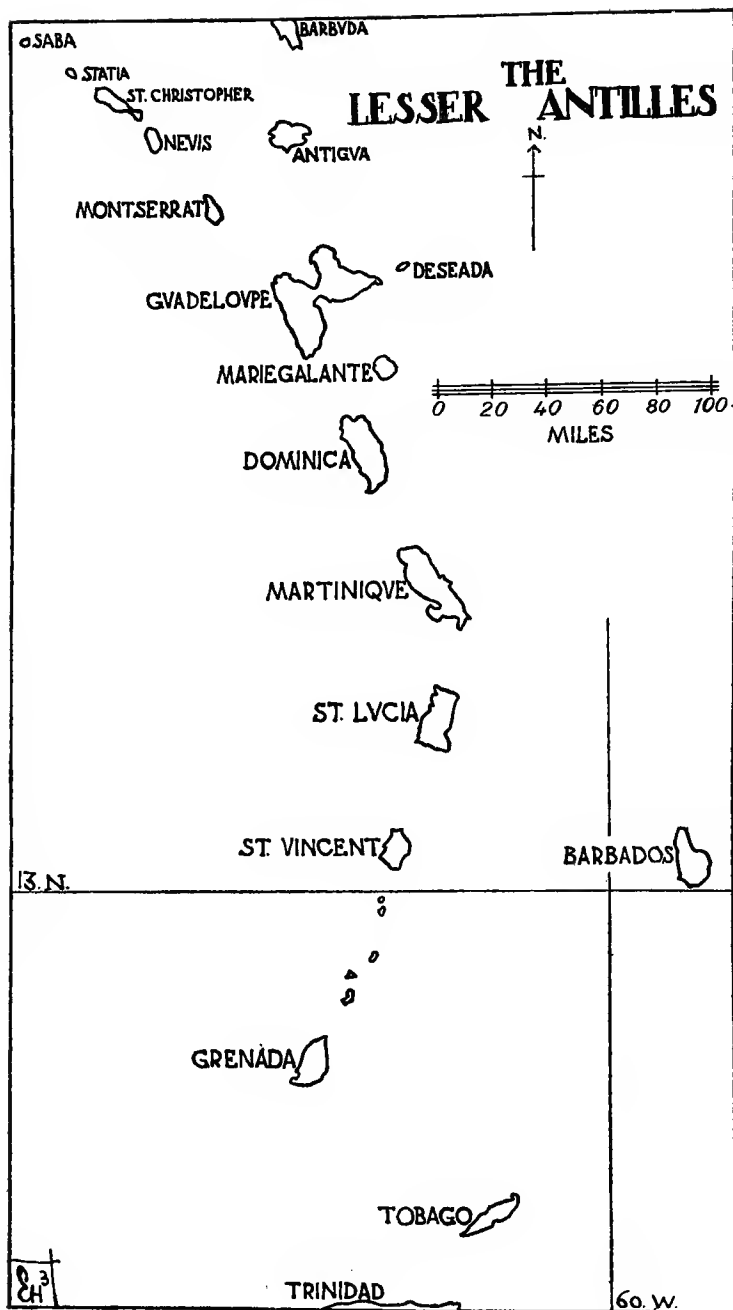


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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS UNDER THE RESTORATION

1660—1688

A STUDY OF THE FOUNDATIONS  
OF THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM

BY

C. S. S. HIGHAM, M.A.

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CAMBRIDGE

*PRINCE CONSORT PRIZE ESSAY, 1920*

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MY MOTHER

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## PREFACE

THE completion of this essay has been delayed, and its form considerably altered, by the war. At first I intended to study the life and governorship of Sir William Stapleton, and by the summer of 1914 I had most of my material in hand. When I rediscovered my papers in 1919, and began to pick up the threads again, I soon realised that a biographical treatment of the subject had many drawbacks. It did not appear to give room for a careful analysis of the various problems of colonial administration which Stapleton was called upon to face. I also found that several important monographs and articles had recently been published in America which threw much light on other aspects of the subject. I therefore determined to alter my plan, and to attempt a study of the general development of the Leeward Islands during the first sixty years of their existence as an English colony. I have, as far as possible, verified my references again, but for any crudeness of form, or for any inaccuracies which may have crept into text or footnotes, I must ask indulgence and plead the length of time during which I have been forced to leave my work untouched.

The story of the Leeward Islands in the seventeenth century is not merely of local interest, for the islands at that time were part of the wealthy Sugar Islands whose growing importance in the economic system of the day often made them bulk more largely in the minds of Imperial statesmen than the bigger colonies of the mainland. In the Leeward Islands we can trace the growth of the various problems of colonial government, and study the early organisation of the slave trade and the beginnings of a definite system of colonial agencies; here, too, we can best examine the simultaneous attempts of the French and English governments to establish a self-sufficing system of trade, for the island of St Christopher was divided between France and England for many years. Thus the history of the Leeward Islands is the history of the experiments of Restoration

ministers in their endeavours to organise a definite system of control over both the trade and the growing self-government of the plantations.

For the choice of my subject, and for help and advice, I have to thank Professor H. E. Egerton, of Oxford. I have also to thank Professor T. F. Tout, of Manchester University, for much helpful criticism. From Professor Ramsay Muir, too, I have received several stimulating suggestions, while Mr G. L. Beer, whom I was fortunate enough to meet at the Record Office, most kindly gave me the benefit of his vast experience. I am deeply indebted to Mrs A. E. Jeaffreson for her kindness in permitting me to examine a seventeenth century MS. letter book in her possession, and also to Sir Miles Stapleton for courteously allowing me to search the MSS. preserved at Greys Court, for documents relating to his ancestor, Sir William Stapleton.

I have received most courteous assistance from all whom I approached, and must thank the officials at the Public Record Office, the map department of the British Museum, the Library of the Colonial Office, the Bodleian Library, the Cheetham Library, Manchester, and particularly Mr Goode, the map librarian at the Cambridge University Library, for his help in my search for old maps and charts of the Leeward Islands. I am also indebted to the Senior Bursar of Trinity College for permission to examine the College archives, and to Mr W. H. B. Bird for his assistance in my searches in the muniment room. For the maps and diagrams I am indebted to my brother, and lastly I have to thank my friend Mr Bruce Dickins, of Magdalene College, for his kindness in reading my MSS., and for the invaluable suggestions which he made.

C. S. S. HIGHAM.

MANCHESTER.

*April, 1920.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

C.F.P. Council for Foreign Plantations, 1670-1672.

C.T.P. Council for Trade and Plantations, 1672-1674.

L.T.P. The Lords of Trade and Plantations (Privy Council Committee, 1675-1696).

C.S.P. I. *Calendar of State Papers (Colonial)*, 1574-1660.

C.S.P. II. *Calendar of State Papers (America and West Indies)*, 1661-1668.

C.S.P. III. *Ib.*, 1669-1674.

C.S.P. IV. *Ib.*, 1675-1676.

C.S.P. V. *Ib.*, 1677-1680.

C.S.P. VI. *Ib.*, 1681-1685.

C.S.P. VII. *Ib.*, 1686-1688.

P.C. Cal. I. *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)*, 1613-1680.

P.C. Cal. II. *Ib.*, 1680-1730.

The full title of other books cited will be found in the Bibliography (Appendix I).

For convenient reference all documents are cited by their number in the *Calendar*, unless the *précis* there is too compressed to illustrate the point. In that case the document is cited by its call number at the Public Record Office. Documents in the first volume of the *Calendar* are cited by the page, as the practice of assigning serial numbers to the documents had not then been adopted.

## ERRATA

page 42, lines 7-8, *for* St Vincent *read* Dominica.

page 213, lines 3, 4 and page 219, lines 13, 21, *for* Russel *read* Russell.



## GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The waies at sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they pass. It is all one way, saith the Philosopher, from Athens to Thebes, and from Thebes to Athens; but it is not so at sea, for we go one way and returne by another.

ACOSTA, *Hist. Indies* (Hakluyt Soc.), III, cap. 4.

FROM early days until quite recently the North-East Trade Wind has played a most important part in the development of the West Indies. Its steady force and its known limits marked out the ocean routes with great exactitude, while the regularity of its seasons determined the economic development of the islands, and the handling of whatever fleets might be cruising in those waters. The Lesser Antilles, which stretch like a bow from Puerto Rico to Trinidad, have their back to the wind and look towards the west; the east or windward coasts are dangerous to shipping, and the majority of roadsteads and harbours lie on the leeward side of the islands. Harbours were very necessary, both for ordinary trading purposes and for sheltering ships during the hurricane season, but the islands first settled by French and English were poorly furnished in this respect. None of the English islands, except Antigua, had a proper harbour, and that island was at first badly hampered by a lack of fresh water: the French were better provided, for the harbour of Fort Royal at Martinique is the most sheltered of any in the West Indies and offers safe anchorage in almost any hurricane. The island of St Lucia, inhabited then by Caribs and claimed alike by French and English, was desired largely for its good harbour, and later Rodney made this his base, watching there with his screen of frigates spread well out to windward of the islands<sup>1</sup>.

The English islands in 1660 fall naturally into three groups; Barbados, to the south and rather eastward of the general line and nearest to Europe by the usual sailing route of the day, the

<sup>1</sup> Mundy, *Life of Rodney*, I, 191, 322.

Leeward Islands, at the northward end of the Lesser Antilles, and Jamaica far away to the west. These three groups were separated far more completely than would appear from a casual glance at the map, Jamaica lay so far to leeward that though news might reach there from St Christopher in a few days, a ship trying to return would take weeks if not months to beat to windward. Between Barbados and the Leeward Islands lay the big French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and the still more threatening Indian islands of Dominica and St Vincent, and in case of war much damage might be done before help could arrive from the wealthy island of Barbados, even if the ships were not driven to leeward, or lost in a hurricane<sup>1</sup>. The set of the wind increased, for practical purposes, the actual distance between the English islands.

The usual route for ships from Europe in the seventeenth century was much the same as for sailing ships to-day<sup>2</sup>: they worked southward, touching perhaps at the Canaries, or the Cape Verde Islands, and then, picking up the trade wind, they stood across the Atlantic. The outer fringe of islands was usually touched at Guadeloupe or Barbados, according to the nationality of the ship and its ultimate destination, for steering further to the northward incurred the risk of shipwreck on one of the numerous low-lying islands of the Virgin group<sup>3</sup>. From Barbados the English ship could sail on the wind, down the islands to St Christopher, or straight across to Jamaica. The return journey was made by working northward until the anti-trades were reached, whence it was generally a clear run home. The outward voyage usually took six weeks, the homeward seven to ten<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Speedy help from Jamaica was practically impossible. "Proposals for carrying on an effectual war in America against the French and Spaniards" (1702). *Harl. Misc.*, x, 524.

<sup>2</sup> *West India Pilot*, II, 14.

<sup>3</sup> "If you are bound to Jamaica, or to any of the ports in the Northern range of islands...the safest land to make is the island of Deseada, for if you should not see the land before night, you may haul to the northward, into the latitude of Montserrat, and have nearly 60 miles to run on in the night." *The seaman's Practical Guide to Barbados and the Leeward Islands* (1832), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1661.

With the growth of the slave trade the voyage from England was slightly modified: the merchantman worked down to the coast of Africa for his cargo of slaves, thence across the Atlantic on the trade wind—the famous “middle passage,” and home the usual way with his cargo of sugar. The Spaniards standardised the sailing of their Plate fleets<sup>1</sup>: if the flota and galleons sailed together they made for Deseada off Guadeloupe, and, separating for their destinations of Vera Cruz and Porto Bello, they rendezvoused later at Havana, sailed through the New Bahama passage with the help of the gulf stream, and so northward and home by the Azores. If the galleons came alone, they usually made for the passage between Barbados and Trinidad, and thence the voyage was the same.

The north-east Trade blows almost continuously all the year round, its northern limit being about  $27^{\circ}$  N. (the latitude of the Canaries), and its southern limit just above the equator: these limits, however, vary with the seasons, the southern limit sometimes crosses the equator, while during the hurricane season it is as high as  $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N.<sup>2</sup> Between the N.E. and S.E. Trades lie the Doldrums, a belt of calms always baffling to sailing vessels. North of the Trades blow the Anti-Trades and all ships on their homeward voyage stood north to pick up these winds. August to October are dangerous months for ships in the Caribbean Sea; for then the violent circular storms known as hurricanes are liable to sweep suddenly across sea and islands with terrific force, carrying destruction wherever they go. Accordingly in the seventeenth century this was recognised as a close season for shipping, and it was through disregarding the time of year, in his eager haste to recapture St Christopher, that Lord Francis Willoughby lost his fleet in a hurricane off Guadeloupe in 1666. Even the government in England did not always consider the seasons when despatching an expedition from home.

During the hurricane season the winds in the West Indies are very uncertain: the Trade wind may at times get south of east, and a south-east wind may make a ship take more than a month

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 15–21, and Jeffrey's *West Indian Atlas*.

<sup>2</sup> *West India Pilot*, II, 5, and Admiralty Charts 2931–4.

in a simple passage from Antigua to Barbados<sup>1</sup>. Again calms occur, baffling winds and sudden shifts which make sailing difficult in these months, apart from the actual danger of the hurricanes. Heavy rains fall during the hurricane season, and the sugar cane is then planted.

The mountainous islands need careful approach at any time under sail, for their lofty hills with gullies and ravines often send nasty squalls roaring down upon the sea which may dismast a ship if she is not carefully handled: to leeward there is always the danger of being becalmed. From these same islands a pleasant offshore breeze generally blows towards nightfall, and experienced navigators have always made great use of this change of wind. The general set of the current in the Caribbee Islands is westward to join the gulf stream, but it is erratic.

The name, Leeward Islands, is, of course, derived from the Trade wind, but it is liable to lead to some confusion, as it has become arbitrarily fixed to a particular administrative group of English islands. In early days the Spaniards called the Greater Antilles the leeward, and the Lesser Antilles the windward islands, a perfectly natural division, but the term leeward gradually spread to the Virgin Islands, and even to islands further east. It was early found convenient to distinguish between the Barbados, and the more northerly group of English islands, which from their proximity to the Spanish "leeward" islands, were soon called in official documents "His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands." The term "Leeward Islands" by itself to signify this group does not come into general use in official documents till much later, while the use of "Windward" as referring to a political group of English islands is comparatively modern<sup>2</sup>. In the seventeenth century any islands which happened to lie to eastward of the speaker were naturally termed "windward islands<sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *The Seaman's Practical Guide*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> C. P. Lucas, *Historical Geography of West Indies*, p. 32, implies that this title was used in 1671, when the Leeward Islands were separated from Barbados.

<sup>3</sup> For St Christopher as a "windward island" see Davies, *History of the Caribby Islands*, p. 24. Du Tertre, speaking of people at Tortuga says, "obtinrent une permission...de passer aux Isles de Vent, c'est à dire à saint

His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands consisted in 1660 of a group of four islands. St Christopher, the mother island, and most northward of the group, is long and narrow, with a mountainous backbone which rises in Mount Misery, an extinct volcano, to some 4000 feet: this mountain range made it practically impossible to cross the island, and explains the agreement for the common use of highways, which was always included in the treaties by the French and English joint inhabitants. The spit running to southward contained valuable salt-ponds which were also to be shared in common. Just to the south lay the small island of Nevis, a volcanic cone rising direct from the sea, poorly watered but with fertile lands well cultivated. Montserrat, another mountainous and well-wooded island, lies some 35 miles to the S.E. These three islands all possess the same disadvantage, they have no harbours but only open roadsteads which offer no shelter at all in the hurricane season. The fourth island, Antigua, possessed fine harbours, but was handicapped by the lack of water: this difficulty was met by the erection of cisterns, but there was no water power for the sugar mills, and the necessary power had to be provided by windmills or by importing horses as at Barbados.

These four islands formed a natural group. Cut off as they were from Barbados, both by the jealousy of the planters there, and by the intervening French and Indian islands, they were driven to realise the need of joint action and to claim and at length obtain a separate government.

The struggle of these islands for a separate government and their development will be traced in the following chapters.

*For the relative size of the islands see diagram on next page.*

Christophe, la Guadeloupe, la Martinique et autres sur cette parallele," III, 130.

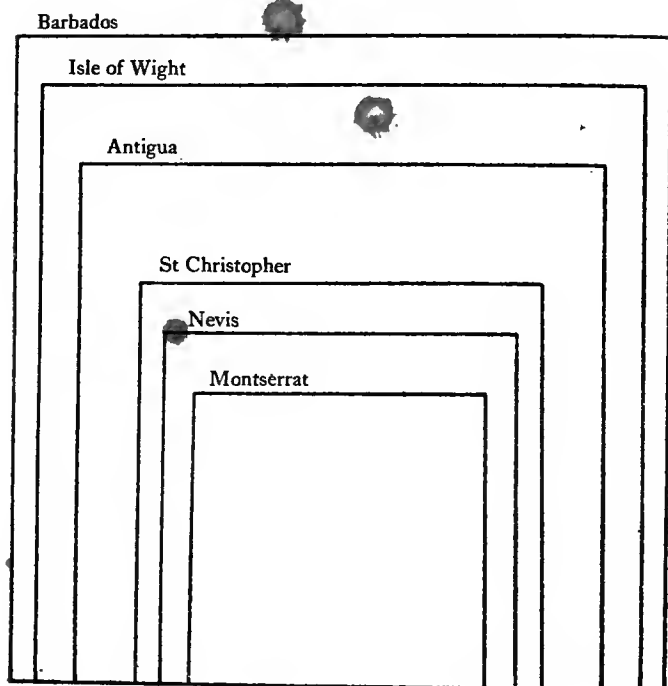
In the same way from Jamaica all the Lesser Antilles are "windward islands." In Jeffrey's *West Indian Atlas* (1775), the "leeward" islands are Curaçoa, etc., and are marked in heavy type, while the English group are marked *leeward islands* in very small type under the general heading of *Caribbees*.

# DIAGRAM I.

## The Size of the Islands.

Area		Sq. miles
Isle of Wight [standard]	...	145
Barbados	... ..	166
Antigua	... ..	108
St Christopher	... ..	65½
Nevis	... ..	50
Montserrat	... ..	32

[From Lucas, *Historical Geography*.]



## CHAPTER I

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROYAL AUTHORITY IN THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS

Wherefore, having rightly considered, we declare, that as we would not be wanting to use all honest means for the obtaining of a continuance of commerce, trade, and good correspondence with our country, soe wee will not alienate ourselves from those old heroick virtues of true Englishmen, to prostitute our freedom and privileges, to which we are borne, to the will and opinion of any one; neither do we think our number so contemptible, nor our resolution soe weake, to be forced or persuaded to so ignoble a submission, and we cannot think, that there are any amongst us, who are soe simple, and soe unworthily minded, that they would not rather chuse a noble death, than forsake their old liberties and privileges.

Royalist Declaration of Independence at Barbados, 1650.

THE problems of colonial organisation and government which faced the Restored Monarchy in 1660 were not easy to solve, and this was especially true of the older plantations in the West Indies. During the disorders at home Barbados had been a haven of refuge, and the growing wealth of the island increased the importance of the vested interests there. The loose working of early patents and the defective knowledge of geography had already led to confusion and disputes. The problem was made more difficult by the capture of the island by Commonwealth forces in 1652, and the growth of a strong planter interest which developed a policy of its own and urged its claims with no uncertain voice.

The earliest English settlement in the Caribbees was made by Sir Thomas Warner in 1623 at St Christopher, while soon after Barbados was planted by the energy of the half Dutch firm of Courteen and Co.<sup>1</sup> In England, however, court influence obtained a grant of both these islands for James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, who succeeded in upholding the validity of his patent against various other claimants<sup>2</sup>. Warner was con-

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, 602 (printed petition of Heirs of Sir W. Courteen); cf. *E.H.R.*, xvi, 640. G. Edmundson, *The Dutch in Western Guiana*.

<sup>2</sup> Carlisle upheld his claim against Montgomery (Pembroke), *C.S.P.*, i, p. 97 (Lord Keeper Coventry—King, 18. 4. 29); cf. Egerton, *op. cit.* He also quieted a claim of the Earl of Marlborough by promising him an annuity. Clarendon's *Life* (ed. 1759), pp. 490-6.

firmed in his governorship of St Christopher, whence Antigua, Montserrat and Nevis were soon settled, but Courteen lost all his interests in Barbados, where after some violence a proprietary government was successfully established. Beyond the appointment of governors the new proprietor did not make his personal influence felt very greatly in the islands, but the constitutional troubles in England spread to the West Indies, and brought those plantations into closer touch with the home government. For several years Barbados had been a refuge for royalists fleeing from England. Thomas Modyford, a West country gentleman who had fought for the King, arrived in 1647 with Ligon, the early historian of the island, and purchasing a share in a large sugar plantation, settled down in the island, and soon after became the mouthpiece of the wealthier planters<sup>1</sup>. Two years later Humphrey Walrond, another West countryman arrived at Barbados with his brother Edward. Although he had made overtures to compound with the Parliament, Walrond was a keen royalist and became the leader of the extreme faction in the island<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile the Earl of Carlisle had died a bankrupt, and in 1647 his son leased the Caribbee Islands to Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, for twenty-one years, with the proviso that one-half of the revenue was to go towards the payment of the creditors<sup>3</sup>. Lord Willoughby had fought against the King and been a leader of the Presbyterian interest in Parliament, but with the triumph of the Army in August 1647 he was impeached and fled early next year to Holland. After commanding the royalist fleet for a short time, he handed it over to Prince Rupert and determined to seek his fortune in the plantations. Armed with his title derived from the Earl of Carlisle, and also with a Commission from the Prince of Wales, granted with the advice of his council in Holland, Willoughby sailed for Barbados<sup>4</sup>.

The continual stream of royalist refugees threatened trouble in the island, but for some time its outbreak was staved off, and a rule was made forbidding the use of the objectionable terms

<sup>1</sup> Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*.

<sup>2</sup> See article on Humphrey Walrond in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon's *Life*, pp. 490-6.



“Cavalier” and “Roundhead.”<sup>1</sup> When, however, Willoughby arrived in April 1650, things had come to a head, and by the active plotting of the Walronds the royalist party was soon supreme. Willoughby was persuaded to go for a brief voyage to the Leeward Islands, while the Walronds wreaked their vengeance on the opposite party by exiling them and confiscating their estates. Shortly after, Willoughby installed himself as governor, and Barbados became one of the royalist colonies<sup>2</sup>.

This state of affairs did not last long: the punitive clause of the Navigation Act of 1650 forbade the recalcitrant plantations to trade “with any people whatsoever,” while in the following year an expedition under Sir George Ayscue was despatched to try the effect of force. Willoughby prepared for a sturdy defence, but declared that he was willing to surrender on terms; he had already procured a place of refuge by founding the new plantation of Surinam in Guiana. After some fighting a capitulation was brought about by the defection of Modyford, who went over to the enemy with the whole of his regiment, and on 11th January, 1652, articles were duly signed. These gave good terms to the island, and Willoughby himself was guaranteed his private property<sup>3</sup>. Willoughby went to England while Walrond was exiled from the island and apparently went into the service of the King of Spain for some years<sup>4</sup>. Daniel Searle was set up as governor of Barbados, responsible to the Commonwealth, and Ayscue set sail for the Leeward Islands. Thus when Rupert soon after made his dash to the West Indies, he found no friendly port wherein to refit<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ligon, p. 57. The offending party had to provide a free dinner.

<sup>2</sup> N. Darnell Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados*, describes these events.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 95-97. They are printed by D. Davis. Art. 16 guaranteed Willoughby the return of his sequestered property in England, the enjoyment of his settlement at Surinam and his plantation at Antigua, the right to return to England, and lastly “that what state soever of right doth belong unto the said Lord Willoughby of Parham in this island of Barbados be to him entirely preserved.” These articles were confirmed by Parliament in Aug. 1652. *C.S.P.*, 1, p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> *D.N.B.*, sub Humphrey Walrond. In 1653 Walrond received titles of honour from the King of Spain.

<sup>5</sup> Warburton, *Memorials of the Cavaliers*, III, prints the account of this adventure; cf. *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 380 and 383.

Searle's *régime* in Barbados was a time of great development and prosperity for that island. Despite bickerings between the various factions<sup>1</sup>, the renewed period of peace gave encouragement for the development of sugar growing. Improved methods of manufacture had but recently been introduced from Brazil, and they spread apace, bringing wealth both to planters and to merchants. Labour was found partly by negro slaves, and partly by the political prisoners who were exported in great numbers to Barbados, as "servants" or indentured labourers. It was estimated that the island had absorbed no less than 12,000 of these prisoners, and thus turned them to useful purposes, instead of leaving them to die in prisons at home. In a petition against the high customs on ginger, sugar, and on necessities exported to the islands, the planters claimed that they employed 20,000 negroes, who raised crops of a value of £200,000 per annum; that they freighted 226 ships a year, and that their exports exceeded those of the whole of Spanish America<sup>2</sup>. This growth of wealth is reflected by the increased interest in the island taken by the merchants of London, and the energy with which the various parties contended in 1660 for their settlement of Barbados affairs.

One of the wealthiest and most influential London merchants of the time was Martin Noel, a man of widespread interests whose advice had great weight with the Protector<sup>3</sup>. It was through him, apparently, that Searle had been appointed in the first place, and it was largely by his influence that through all the political changes in England that governor retained his position continuously until 1660, despite the machinations of Modyford, who wished the office for himself, and the schemes of other opponents in London<sup>4</sup>. Noel was largely interested in

<sup>1</sup> Modyford was constantly opposing Searle and seeking to become governor. *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 408, 413, 479, etc.; cf. Add. MSS. 11411, 53-55, 58-60, 71-72, 83 b-84, 85, 86, 90-94 (letters between Thos. Povey and Gov. Searle).

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 11411 (Thos. Povey's letter-book), fo. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-75*, cap. III, has some account of these merchants.

<sup>4</sup> The question of a "chief supervisor of all the Caribbee Islands" was mooted in November 1652, but Searle was confirmed as governor, *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 393, 395, 404, 406; cf. also *ib.* 475, 476 and 479. Add. MSS. 11411 *passim*. *Thurloe S.P.*, II, 99-100, 198-200.

the expedition against Jamaica, and as his affairs increased found less time to devote to matters of Barbados, and virtually handed them over to Thomas Povey, another merchant, with whom he was interested in several trading ventures. Starting from but a small fortune, Povey raised himself by his skill and address to become a recognised authority on West Indian matters. When in 1656 the select committee for the affairs of Jamaica and the West Indies was established, Noel was one of the original members. By his efforts Povey was added to the committee next year, and became one of its most active and important members<sup>1</sup>.

Early in 1658 Povey notified Searle, that at Noel's request he was devoting his attention largely to Barbados affairs, and advised him to avoid unnecessary collision with Modyford and his faction<sup>2</sup>. Povey had corresponded regularly with Searle for some time, but from this date he took Noel's place in dealing with Barbados business, though Noel's influence was still used when it was thought necessary, and when that busy merchant could spare the time<sup>3</sup>.

When the Long Parliament was restored in 1659, Povey foresaw a dangerous time for Searle. He managed to secure a letter from the Council of State, continuing Searle in office, and the drafting of the letter was left to his own discretion, but he warned the governor that trouble was at hand<sup>4</sup>.

Sir, I cannot but repeate and press upon you the observation That though you were first appointed Governor under a Commonwealth and received only a permission to continue soe by a single Person, yet the Defyance w<sup>ch</sup> is generally cast upon everie Act of that hated Power, will have its reflection upon you<sup>5</sup>.

Noel was at the moment suffering a temporary eclipse of power, owing to his intimate relationship with the Protector's government, but Povey still had much influence. Searle realised his own position, and promptly appointed Povey his agent in

<sup>1</sup> Andrews, *op. cit.*, compare Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 42-47 (Noel and Povey—Searle, Aug. 1657), and 61.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 53-55 (Povey—Searle, 8. 1. 58).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* fo. 83 b-84 b (Povey and Noel—Searle, 30. 4. 59); cf. 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* fo. 89 b (letter from Council of State, 9. 6. 59). Povey was clever enough to draft this letter so that it also confirmed his brother's office as Provost-Marshal.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* fo. 85-86 (Povey—Searle, 8. 6. 59).

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England, guaranteeing him a salary which he was very ready to accept.

You doe the more oblige mee to adheare to Y<sup>r</sup> Interests and take a particular care of Yo<sup>r</sup> Reputation and Concernm<sup>ts</sup> whilst you doe soe earnestly recommend them to mee and doe shewe mee that the charge and the travaile which I shall be put to by the interest which I shall expend in y<sup>r</sup> service shall find a settled recompense and satisfaction; which I am not ashamed to expect and receive, because my application to ye Affaires of ye West Indies have hitherto been verie expensive to me without yielding mee the least advantage<sup>1</sup>.

In his capacity of agent Povey continued to work for Searle's retention as governor until Modyford succeeded in obtaining the post in 1660.

Both Noel and Povey had business interests in the West Indies, and were always seeking to improve them. Besides his contract for the fitting and victualling of the Jamaican expedition, Noel took up 20,000 acres in the island, and appointed as his agent there Povey's brother Richard, who had gone out with the expedition as Commissary<sup>2</sup>. At Barbados Noel's brother, Thomas, became secretary of the island, while another brother of Povey's, William, acted as Noel's agent, though with but poor success<sup>3</sup>. By Noel's influence a patent was obtained for him as Provost-Marshal-General of the island, on the understanding that Thomas Povey should have a portion of the fees, but William's reluctance or dishonesty defeated this pleasant arrangement<sup>4</sup>. Various attempts were also made at establishing a trade with Florida, and a secret engagement was drawn up between Noel, Povey, Watts, an important merchant and sea-captain, and Lord Willoughby who had but recently been released from prison, where he had been sent for attempting to raise a royalist rebellion. These four "as Partners and Principals of the West India Company to be settled," agreed to send a ship as soon as possible to Jamaica, laden with a government cargo whose freight should finance the venture. Thence she was to attempt a trade to Florida.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 90-94 (Povey—Searle, 20. 9. 59).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* fo. 16-17 (Thos.—Richard Povey, 7. 4. 57), 62 b-63 b (*ib.* 5. 4. 58).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* fo. 7 (Noel—Wm. Povey, 25. 11. 55), etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* fo. 36-38, 49, and *passim*.

If it be supposed that the design upon the Coast of Florida doe not answer expectation. Then Capt Watts shall give credit to the skipper to lade the shipp with Pipe staves, from New England, upon the general account, to Barbados thence to be laded with sugar homewards<sup>1</sup>.

Although Willoughby was a partner in this "private undertaking," yet his name does not appear in the petitions which were presented by the other three<sup>2</sup>. Two ships were apparently sent in 1657, and succeeded in bringing back a native who was received by the Protector as an ambassador, but the expedition of the following year ended in disaster<sup>3</sup>. Besides the Florida enterprise, Noel and Povey had thoughts of a scheme for a buccaneering company which should make its money partly by legitimate trade, and partly by a private war against the Spaniards. After taking various forms this plan matured in September 1659 into the proposal that the state should furnish and equip 20 frigates, which the company should victual and man. The basis of the expedition was to be "no profit, no pay," and Povey wrote to assure Searle that no attempts would be made to interfere with the trade of Barbados<sup>4</sup>. Thus it will be seen that Noel, Povey and Watts were closely connected in many schemes of tradè and adventure, during the years before the Restoration, while Lord Willoughby was an intimate friend of Povey's, and had a share no less real because inconspicuous in at least one of their ventures. This powerful group of merchants had largely influenced Cromwell's policy; they influenced the policy of the restored monarchy even more<sup>5</sup>.

The confusion and internal disorder which followed hard on Richard Cromwell's fall in May 1659 reacted strongly on

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 108 ("Private Undertaking").

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* following Folios.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 15-17, 58-60 b, 62, 67-8 (tells of the disaster to the *Hunter*, Gov. of Virginia—Povey, 9. 4. 58), 68 b-70.

<sup>4</sup> Egerton 2395 contains many drafts of this scheme; cf. Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 68 b-70 (Thos.—Richard Povey, 20. 7. 58), 90-94 b (Povey—Searle, 20. 9. 59) tells of the final scheme.

<sup>5</sup> To their advice was largely due the formation of the Council of Plantations, and the Council of Trade, in 1660; cf. Andrews, capp. III, IV. Among the members of the Council of Plantations were Willoughby, Noel, Povey, Watts, Drax, Colleton, Kendal, and Edward Walrond; all interested in the West Indian trade.

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the control of colonial affairs. All who wished for a change in the government of Barbados set to work, and vague accusations were made against Searle.

I understand that there are some private letters, to individual persons of the Councill, which would suggest many complaints against your government.

Povey advised Searle that it was unwise to raise the question of a new patent "because the stirring into it may mind others to recommend some of their own relations, which I find one or two of the Councill are willing to doe<sup>1</sup>." Meanwhile in October the merchants of Barbados arranged a conference at the "Cardinal's Cap," to meet a certain Vincent Gookin, whom rumour alleged to be the destined governor. Povey was invited to attend, and did so to watch affairs. Gookin declared that he had no wish to replace Searle, but Povey's attempts to persuade the meeting to draft and sign a petition in favour of Searle was unsuccessful; the cautious merchants preferred to await developments and not prejudice themselves by declaring openly for any one candidate. Gookin's sudden death but removed a straightforward rival, while leaving the secret negotiations to continue<sup>2</sup>.

The position of the various governors of the Leeward Islands was likewise called in question. Povey understood by the "Discourses and Drifts of many individual persons of the Councill that a generall removal of the governors in the severall Colonies was designed<sup>3</sup>." During the seven years following Ayscue's expedition, the governors he had established in the Leeward Islands had not given complete satisfaction. In the Irish Island of Montserrat the governor, Osborne, was accused in 1654 of murdering a Dutchman, Waad, and though Searle was instructed to enquire into the matter Osborne retained his place<sup>4</sup>. The troubles were much more serious at Antigua, where in 1655 a violent dispute had broken out between the planters and their governor, Christopher Kaynall.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 90-94 (Povey—Searle, 20. 9. 59).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, the second part of the letter tells very graphically the story of the meeting and is dated 20. 10. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 419-21.

Despite protests Kaynall slipped away to England, and laying his side of the story before the authorities managed to retain his office<sup>1</sup>. Both the governor of Nevis, and Clement Everard, a reputed royalist, the governor of St Christopher, were accused of various malpractices, and with the changes in England these charges came to a head<sup>2</sup>.

Despite the energy of their supporters, who presented certificates on their behalf, it was decided that both Everard and Russell, the new governor of Nevis, were to be superseded. A Capt. Ward was chosen for Nevis, though he was actually commissioned for St Christopher, and Russell was left in office<sup>3</sup>. This change was probably due to the successful intrigue of George Marsh, his brother-in-law, an important Leeward merchant, who had led the attack on Everard. At the last minute, however, Ward's commission was held up to await the pleasure of the returning King<sup>4</sup>.

Meanwhile the long rule of Daniel Searle as governor of Barbados came to an end, and the wire-pullers at home selected Modyford as his successor. Early in 1660, Barbados was full of disturbing rumours, and Modyford, with his cousin Colleton, began once more to intrigue against Searle<sup>5</sup>. It was said that the Duke of York was coming to Barbados and that good terms would be offered if the island surrendered. Another story spread rapidly: the King had arranged with the Spaniards that they should recapture Barbados for him, and retain all the negroes as their share of the booty. This really did alarm the planters, and they made vigorous preparations to repel the invaders if they came<sup>6</sup>. In the midst of all this excitement there

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson MSS., "A" 372-409 (accusations against Kaynall). Egerton 2395, fo. 68 (draft Commission to Kaynall, 6. 8. 56). *C.S.P.*, I, pp. 411, 439, 440, 443, etc., Kaynall asked for free trade for his island and the export of goods from England to Antigua duty free.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 457 (complaints against Stokes of Nevis, 4. 8. 57), 473 (petitions against Everard, 25. 1. 59).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, pp. 474-5 (Certs. Feb.-Mar. 1659), 476-7 (order of Council of State re new governors, 21. 9. 59), 478-9 (commissions for Ward); cf. Egerton 2395, fo. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, p. 482 (statement in petition, 25. 6. 60).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, I, p. 479 (letter from Barbados, 6. 5. 60).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, I, pp. 479, 481, 483 (minutes Council Barbados, 28th-29th May, 11th, 26th, 27th June, 1660). This rumour was current in Holland in 1658. *Thurloe S.P.*, VII, 314 (Downing-Thurloe, 16. 5. 58, N.S.).

arrived on 16th July, a commission for Modyford as governor, sent to him by the Council of State, at the instance of his kinsman Monck<sup>1</sup>. At the same time came news of the King's return to England. Searle readily resigned his power to the new governor, and Modyford at once proclaimed the King with due ceremony, and thus put an end to the fear of Spanish invasion<sup>2</sup>. Summoning the Assembly, Modyford congratulated them that a genuine planter had been chosen as governor instead of some adventurer from England.

Dear Friends, and Fellow Planters, a name which none of my predecessors would so truly owne as I doe for though divers of them, have by the advantage of their place gotten plantations and so become planters, yet none of them from being first Planters became Governors, ...it is my great contentment that I am the first of this order, planter Governor; before me none, and there is hope that I shall not be the last, but that by the clemency of our Gracious King he will continue the Dignity among ourselves, and every of them that stand before me this day, may according to their merits have a turne and share at the Helme<sup>3</sup>.

Despite the confident note in his speech the new governor did not feel very secure of his office. He held power under authority from the Council of State which had now been superseded by the King. The Restoration of the Monarchy might well mean the restoration of proprietary government, and then awkward enquiries might follow as to the titles to different plantations, and heavy dues be exacted. Modyford, therefore, suggested that an address should be sent to the King and this was readily agreed upon; a joint-committee of Council and Assembly was appointed to draw up the address, and the instructions to its bearer. The address begged that the island might be freed from the restrictions placed upon its trade, and its bearer, Peter Watson, was instructed to join with John Colleton, James Drax, Thomas Kendall, Edward Walrond, and other prominent planters and merchants in England, and to present the address to the King. He was to get a definite answer

<sup>1</sup> See *C.S.P.*, II, p. 6 (Modyford—Albemarle, 25. 1. 61).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 484 (minutes Council Barbados, 16. 7. 60). Modyford's commission was dated 24. 4. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, p. 486 (minutes Council Barbados, 1. 8. 60).



to the requests for the immediate protection of the island, and for free trade<sup>1</sup>.

Modyford also suggested that a present should be sent to the King, and an agent appointed to watch the interests of the island, but the Assembly was obdurate and objected to voting any money. The governor urged that money was necessary "to the interest that the great burden of the Carlisle patent be voided." If the patent was annulled by legal process, money would be needed to purchase a charter like that of New England, or Virginia, before it was bought by the merchants "who may probably engross the trade of this island into their hands and in fine make us as poor and comfortless as the unfortunate Bermudians at this day are." In the other case, money was necessary to buy the patent outright from Carlisle; or at least to obtain a charter from him. The Assembly replied that as there was already rumour of a royal governor coming to Barbados, they would obtain what they wanted without expense. Even if the proprietary government were re-established, they relied on a former law passed by Willoughby, confirming their holdings in common socage. In any case they declared that nothing could be done until the receipt of the King's answer to their address<sup>2</sup>.

This refusal of the Assembly to vote supplies meant that Watson had to set sail for England without any official fund, instead of with the resources which Modyford had hoped would secure the end of proprietary authority, and his own retention as royal governor. Watson's mission was not entirely without success, he was able to present his address to the King, and in November 1660 a letter was even drafted complimenting Modyford on his loyalty, and confirming him in his office, but the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 486-7 (minutes Council Barbados, 31st July, 1st August, 1660). Of these Colleton and Kendal were relatives of Modyford and the prominent promoters of the attack on the proprietary government. Sir James Drax was a wealthy Barbados planter who had been employed by Searle as agent against early schemes of Modyford's. He was knighted by the Protector in 1658 at Noel's suggestion (Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 51 b-53). He now acted against Kendall, notifying the Barbados planters of his schemes. Edward Walrond was Humphrey's brother, and naturally a supporter of Willoughby's claims.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

matter had by this time become much wider than the mere question whether Modyford or Willoughby was to be governor in Barbados, and the letter was laid aside<sup>1</sup>.

The situation which the restored monarchy was called upon to face was thus very complicated. The machinery for the control of colonial administration had completely broken down during the confusion of the last year and Povey found himself acting alone for the select committee for America<sup>2</sup>. In Barbados a planter governor had just been set up, but the royalist proprietor, Willoughby, at once applied for his rights. The appointments to the Leeward governorships had been suspended pending the King's arrival, and on 27th June, Charles received petitions asking for the confirmation of Ward's commission for St Christopher and the re-appointment of Russell in Nevis<sup>3</sup>. The first step of the new government was to organise machinery to deal with this business, and on 4th July a standing committee of the Privy Council was appointed to deal with these petitions and any other plantation matters which might arise<sup>4</sup>. The consideration of these petitions, however, was quickly suspended that the committee might examine a much more intricate question which was soon referred to them.

The planters had rightly thought that the King's return would mean the restoration of proprietary government<sup>5</sup>. Lord Willoughby had kept in close touch with West Indian affairs

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 492, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Andrews, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 482, both Noel and Povey supported the petition for Russell, while Kendal, Marsh and Colleton, among others, signed the petition for Ward of St Christopher. Andrews, p. 61, implies that these petitions were from opposing groups of merchants but this is incorrect as they refer to separate islands, and in several cases the same merchants signed both petitions, e.g. George Marsh.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, p. 483 (Order King in Council appointing the Committee, 4. 7. 60). The original members were six: Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Leicester, Earl of Portland. There were added on 22. 5. 61, Mr Comptroller, Mr Vice-Chamberlain, and the two secretaries; on 5. 9. 62, Earl of Sandwich, Earl of Anglesey, Lords Hatten, Holles, Ashley and Mr Treasurer; and by Order of 21. 10. 63, Earl of St Albans and Lord Berkeley. *C.S.P.*, II, p. 847 (list of Committees appointed by the Privy Council). Andrews, p. 62, gives a list, from the Order in Council (*C.S.P.*, I, p. 483), which contains fewer names than the list quoted above.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon, *op. cit.*, gives an account of the negotiations. See Note A at end of chapter.

and, early in July 1660, received from the King a letter directing him to proceed to Barbados, and there continue his government under the authority of the Carlisle patent: the planters were ordered to render him ready obedience<sup>1</sup>. This letter called forth immediate protests from the merchants and planters in London but it remained in force for nearly three years. During all the negotiations that followed Willoughby acted as proprietary governor until he received his royal commission in June 1663; the very Assembly that voted the duty of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Barbados was elected under proprietary authority<sup>2</sup>.

This opposition was based very largely on the fear that many titles to plantations were defective, and that the proprietor or his deputy might penalise the holders. Thus both merchants and planters, though their policy was often divergent, acted together in opposing Willoughby's claims.

The Barbadoes it self was...so fully planted that there was no room for new-comers and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant. Many citizens of London had raised very great estates, there, and every year received a very great revenue from thence, and the King's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly. All those men who had entered that plantation as a waste place, and had, with great charge, brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, began now to apprehend that they must depend upon the good-will of the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own<sup>3</sup>.

The objections to the re-establishment of Willoughby's government were heard by the King himself, in the Privy Council, and referred to its recently formed committee for America for examination and report<sup>4</sup>. Here the petitioners, led by Kendall, urged the withdrawal of the King's letter to Willoughby, as it had been issued before they were aware that attempts were being made to strengthen the "pretended title."

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 483, 18 (9. 7. 60); cf. Egerton 2395, fo. 267 (23. 6. 60).

<sup>2</sup> G.L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, Pt I, vol. I, pp. 174-5 says that Willoughby was appointed royal governor in 1661, but that is an error. A similar misunderstanding occurs in Andrews, p. 63, where it is implied that Willoughby was restored in 1660 by the Committee of the Privy Council.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon's *Life* (ed. 1759), pp. 490-6.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 483, 20 (Order in Council, 16. 7. 60). *P.C. Cal.*, I, 485; cf. Clarendon's statement.

They also cast doubts on the validity of the Carlisle patent, begging that those who claimed under it should be left to establish their claim in the law courts<sup>1</sup>. The committee met several times, enquiring minutely into the accounts of the early settlement of Barbados, examining the story of Courteen's expedition and the claims derived from the first planters<sup>2</sup>. Finally on 30th August they decided that Lord Willoughby ought to be restored to his government as he had been expelled by "the illegal power of Cromwell,...and as for the validity of the Patent whereby Mr Kendall and the *reste doe* claim, they are to be left to the law<sup>3</sup>." A warrant was drafted to Lord Willoughby, stating that after full enquiry the King thought fit to enforce his former letter and instructing Willoughby to go to Barbados at once. This draft was referred to the committee<sup>4</sup>, and presumably laid aside, for the whole question was re-opened by the appearance of a new claimant.

While these negotiations were proceeding, Lord Carlisle died, bequeathing his pretensions for what they were worth to Lord Kinnoul, who promptly petitioned the King for his rights, though he recognised that he would receive nothing until Carlisle's creditors were satisfied<sup>5</sup>. These creditors claimed £30,000 and had obtained a decree in Chancery for this amount in 1644. In 1649 they had received an assignment of half the profits of the Caribbee Islands, but owing to the troublous times had not received their money<sup>6</sup>. Besides Kinnoul and Carlisle's creditors, there was a third claimant. The Earl of Marlborough declared that his grandfather had surrendered

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 486, 29-30 (petitions July-Aug. 1660); cf. Clarendon's account.

<sup>2</sup> The committee dealt with this business on 26th July (*C.S.P.*, I, p. 483, 20; 485, 25); cf. *P.C. Cal.*, I, 487. On 2nd August (*C.S.P.*, I, p. 486, 29; 487, 31-32); 6th August (*ib.* 488, 35); 13th August (*op. cit.*); 20th August (*ib.* 489, 41); 30th August (*ib.* 42), and possibly at other dates also.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 489, 41 and 42 (20 and 30. 8. 60).

<sup>4</sup> *ib.*, p. 489, 45 (Sept. 1660), endorsed "to be referred to the Committee of Plantations." There is no record of the meeting of the committee to consider this.

<sup>5</sup> *P.C. Cal.*, I, 498 (29. 11. 60); cf. Clarendon's account.

<sup>6</sup> Petitions of creditors, *C.S.P.*, II, 44, 45, 47, and 485; cf. *P.C. Cal.*, I, 581 (petition, 21. 1. 62); 596 (read in Council, 10. 6. 63). Clarendon states that another set of creditors, claiming £50,000, was the first to petition the King, but their petition seems to have disappeared.

his claims under an earlier royal promise, to the Earl of Carlisle in return for an annuity of £300 which had never been paid<sup>1</sup>.

These various claims complicated the issue; it was no longer a straightforward question between the colonists and the proprietor about the legality of the patent. The conflicting claims under the patent itself had now to be determined. The committee attempted to settle these new claims by mutual agreement, but when this was found impossible it was determined to cut the Gordian knot by referring the question of the validity of the patent itself to the Attorney-General<sup>2</sup>. The report was unfavourable to the patent, and all the claimants saw their pretensions greatly weakened<sup>3</sup>. If once the patent were disallowed all their claims became of grace and not of right. The planters on the other hand found their position much improved. In his fight against proprietary rule, Kendall had hinted that the islands would pay "some rate per cent. on the commodities of the island as well as on the customs here," and he doubtless hoped that this offer would secure the confirmation of Modyford as governor<sup>4</sup>. Later when the committee tried to pin the merchants and planters down to a definite promise they at once denied Kendall's authority, and only spoke in vague words<sup>5</sup>. The intrigue to retain Modyford as governor had also been going on behind the scenes, possibly with Albemarle's help, and in November 1660 Modyford's petition sent by Watson had succeeded so far that a letter was drawn up confirming him in his office "notwithstanding any former letter or letters given under our sign manual or privy signet to any person or persons whatsoever<sup>6</sup>." This letter was never sent, though Modyford knew of the King's promise and spoke of it in one of his customary letters to his cousin Albemarle<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's account; cf. *C.S.P.*, I, p. 242, 32 and p. 281, 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, and *C.S.P.*, II, 36 (Order in Council, all documents to be submitted to law officer, 20. 2. 61); cf. *P.C. Cal.*, I, 506, 507.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon's statement; cf. *C.S.P.*, II, 83 (Mins. of Committee, 7. 5. 61).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 39 (petition, 1. 3. 61, hinting at accommodation); 40 (for Modyford as gov.); 41 (the bearers of the Barbados address now act as "commissioners" for the island); cf. 60, 83, and Clarendon's account.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 492, 58 (Nov. 1660).

<sup>7</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 6 (25. 1. 61). Albemarle's readiness to help Modyford is seen not only by the obtaining for him his commission, but is reflected in

On the receipt of the law officer's report the King declared

That he would not receive from hence any benefits or advantage to himself, until all their pretences had received satisfaction; and therefore, that the Lord Willoughby should proceed in his voyage to the Barbados, and should receive according to his bargain, a moiety of the profits; and that the other part should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances<sup>1</sup>.

It was now common knowledge that the patent would disappear, though how was still a question. Both in England and Barbados the King was now regarded as "Proprietor," although the patent had not yet been actually resumed, and in an official letter sent in March 1661 to the governor of Barbados it was definitely stated that the proprietorship was in the King's hands<sup>2</sup>.

As a result of the King's decision the committee were now instructed to arrange with the different claimants the proportions into which they should divide the revenue of the islands, but this proved a most difficult matter<sup>3</sup>. Lord Willoughby's case was soon settled. The King had already ordered his restoration, and he was ready to resign all claims in return for half the revenue, and the office of royal governor for the remaining seven years which his contract with Carlisle had yet to run<sup>4</sup>. Thus in November 1662 he received a lease of the islands for seven years, on the undertaking that he would pay one-half the revenue to the King. He was also ordered to prepare his own instructions as governor, but there was a year's delay

a private letter from the King to Monck, dated 27. 5. 1660. "You may likewise undertake to Coll. Muddiford, of whom I have heretofore had a very good opinion, that I will pardon and forgett all that is done amisee." Clarendon MSS. 72, fo. 408.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's account; cf. *C.S.P.*, 11, 80 (pencil note by Sec. Nicholas); 83 (Mins. Committee, 7. 5. 61).

<sup>2</sup> *P.C. Cal.*, 1, 509 (28. 3. 1661); cf. *C.S.P.*, 11, 6 and 129 (Council of Barbados letter, 10. 7. 61). In acknowledging this letter the Council say that although they understand the proprietorship is in the King's hands, they are continuing the administration of affairs, pending further orders. Egerton 2395, fo. 505; cf. *C.S.P.*, 11, 137 refers to the King "in whom is the proprietorship of these islands" (July 1661).

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, 11, 80, 83, 180 (petition of Willoughby referred to Clarendon and others); 181 (Willoughby's terms).

before he obtained his commission<sup>1</sup>. The other claimants were more difficult to satisfy. Lord Kinnoul who had been ruined by his loyalty persisted in a belief in the validity of the patent, and thought of going to live in Barbados in an attempt to revive his fortunes. The committee were most anxious to avoid legal proceedings about the patent, fearing the effect on those colonies which were still ruled under such authority, and exerted themselves to bring about an amicable settlement. They explained to Kinnoul the folly of his plan, seeing the large debts owed by Carlisle's estate, and so persuaded him to rely on the King's generosity in the matter. By emphasising the probability of speedy payment they forced the creditors to accept a proportion only of their claims<sup>2</sup>. Thus at last this weary matter was brought to a conclusion. By an Order in Council of 13th June, 1663, the profits to arise from the Caribbee Islands were allotted to the various claimants. Willoughby was to enjoy one half of the revenue for the six years which his lease had still to run, when it would revert to the King. The "Second Moyety" was allotted as follows. An annuity of £500 for two lives to the Earl of Marlborough; a perpetual annuity of £500 to Lord Kinnoul, to be increased to £1000 when all the creditors were paid; the balance to pay off the claims of the creditors, and then to revert to the Crown<sup>3</sup>. Clarendon emphasises the equity of this settlement—

He did still believe it to be very just, reasonable and agreeable to his Majesty's Justice and Goodness, all Circumstance being Considered. And though it may be, in Strictness of Law, and by the avoiding of the Grant made to the Earl of Carlisle, his Majesty might have possessed himself of the whole island, without any tender consideration of the Planters and Creditors: He said, He was not ashamed that He had never given his Majesty that or the like Counsell,

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 309 (Mins. of Committee, 5. 6. 62); 359 (warrant, 27. 8. 62); 387 (letters patent, 18. 11. 62). He was ordered to prepare his instructions on 5th June (*ib.* 309), they were approved by the Privy Council on 25th Sept. 1662 (*P.C. Cal.*, I, 576).

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's account.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 482 (13. 6. 63); *P.C. Cal.*, I, 599. A copy was given to every party that wished for one, and to Lord Willoughby with the King's order "that He should see it punctually and precisely executed": Clarendon. The total amount of the debt is about £37,700. It would thus appear that both sets of creditors were to be satisfied.

in that or any other matter of the like Nature, and if He had, He was confident that his Majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it<sup>1</sup>.

With the settlement of this difficult matter Willoughby was able at last to set out for Barbados. His commission as royal governor, and his instructions were all ready, while the lengthy disputes about the question of Surinam had ended in his obtaining recognition as joint-proprietor of that plantation<sup>2</sup>.

Willoughby did not wait however until the final decision of the dispute, before exercising his authority. In Sept. 1660, encouraged probably by the favourable decision of the committee, and acting under the authority of the King's letter of July, he sent out instructions for a new government at Barbados<sup>3</sup>. Martin Noel had supported Kendall in his fight against proprietary authority, though he had taken no lead in the matter, but the part played by Povey in these early negotiations is uncertain<sup>4</sup>. By the beginning of 1661 he was a keen supporter and intimate confidant of Willoughby.

In February it was arranged to send out their old partner, Capt. Watts, as governor of St Christopher<sup>5</sup>, while by Povey's active interest, aided in the first case by the solicitations of Marsh, Russell and Osborne were confirmed in their respective islands<sup>6</sup>. Povey actually drafted Osborne's commission, and probably the various covering letters sent in Willoughby's name—

You will receive from Collon<sup>1</sup> Watts a Commission and Instructions, made readie by my good Friend Mr Thomas Povey, whose Kindness

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's account. He speaks of himself in the third person.

<sup>2</sup> *G.S.P.*, 11, 478 (Commission, 12. 6. 63); 489 (Instructions, 16. 6. 63); cf. 492, 451 (6. 5. 61), grant to Willoughby and Laurence Hyde. Willoughby's claim to Surinam had been discussed side by side with the Barbados question, and the lengthy delays were due in part to the Surinam business.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 28-29 b (Willoughby—Council Barbados, N.D.). *G.S.P.*, 1, p. 494 (Mins. Council Barbados, 11. 12. 59); 496 (Walrond—Sec. Nicholas, 24. 12. 59).

<sup>4</sup> Noel signed some petitions, e.g., *G.S.P.*, 11, 39 (offering an export duty at Barbados), but Kendall was the leading man.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 31 b-32. Egerton 2395, 303. In April, 1660, Noel had petitioned that Watts should be appointed governor of Jamaica. Egerton 2395, fo. 171 (24. 4. 60).

<sup>6</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 31 b-32 (Willoughby—Russell—Osborne, 19. 2. 61). These letters were carried by Capt. Watts.



and Assistance I doe often use in these affaires, and to whose friendship I doe recommend you as to ye person to whom you are to address yo<sup>r</sup>self (if I shall be out of England) when it shall be necessarie to ye affaires of the Collonie or yo<sup>r</sup> more particular concernments. And he will be the more worthie of yor esteeme in that he hath been a principall occasion of my confirming you in yo<sup>r</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup>, hee having treated with two of yo<sup>r</sup> Brothers to that purpose, of which I imagine he wrote to you by this conveyance, And having been tempted by overtures of Advantage to prevaile w<sup>th</sup> mee to appoint another person<sup>1</sup>.

For this intriguing Povey expected a good reward, and he duly instructed Watts to sound the placemen and see what he could squeeze from them. Osborne, however, had the clever tongue of an Irishman, and managed to postpone the day of reckoning.

After many other debates, wrote Watts to Povey, I found him complieing as to a good gratuitie to yorself, for ye greate Civillitie already rec'd alsoe for what he hopes to receive by yr assistance at ye Court; he is now bound home and doth intend to make his first application to you and Mr Noel, whom he esteems much...<sup>2</sup>.

Watts himself was expected to pay his footing, but apologised that he could not send anything at present until "I shall be in a capacitie to enlarge myself and perform my obligation<sup>3</sup>."

Modyford did not long enjoy his position as planter governor for Willoughby's orders of September reached Barbados in December 1660, and appointed Humphrey Walrond, Willoughby's old royalist ally, president of a nominated Council. Modyford was loath to resign his office, hoping to receive a favourable reply to the petition which he and the Council had already sent to the King, but after a little bickering he thought it best to give way. The royalist gang at once got on his tracks, and he was accused of treason in putting into execution his commission from the Council of State: the prosecution fell through, but it needed a strong letter from the King to remind the party now in power that the Act of Oblivion covered such cases<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 31 b-32 (Willoughby—Osborne, 19. 2. 61).

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 303 (Watts ex S. C. 19. 6. 61).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1, pp. 494, 496; Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 28-29 b. *C.S.P.*, 11, 1, 11 (Minutes Council Barbados, 2, 29, 31 January 1662); 6 (Modyford—Albemarle, 25. 1. 62); *P.C. Cal.*, 1, 509 (this letter read in Council).

Walrond proclaimed the King again, and promptly summoned an assembly, but the president with his council of the proprietor's nominees soon came to a deadlock with the elected Assembly. To retain themselves in power Walrond's party had to save the proprietary form of government, or at least to ingratiate themselves with the King. Thus Walrond aimed at three things. He wished to discredit the bearers of the recent petition, and any who claimed to act for the island without his instructions. He hoped to buy the King's favour with a heavy bribe of money sent by the hand of a duly accredited agent. He planned to secure his position as governor by re-enacting an old law passed during Willoughby's former *régime*, granting the governor an export duty of 2 and 4 per cent.<sup>1</sup> The news of Kendall's offer of an export duty to the King had already reached Barbados, and Walrond wrote at once to deny that Kendall had any authority to make such an offer, and urged that Willoughby the loyalist rather than Modyford the traitor was the right governor for the island<sup>2</sup>. The Council of Barbados promptly passed a resolution, that no person be heard as an agent on behalf of the island, "with the approbation and consent of the General Assembly for the time being<sup>3</sup>." In March 1661, when pressed by the Council to re-enact the old law for the 2 and 4 per cent., the Assembly refused to do anything until the whole question of proprietorship had been decided in England, but promised to provide for the expenses of government in the meanwhile<sup>4</sup>. Matters came to a head in July. Sir James Drax, one of the Barbados planters in London, sent Walrond definite news of the schemes of Kendall, Colleton and their party. This letter was laid before the Assembly, and the Council proposed three crucial resolutions. A petition was to be sent to the King denouncing Kendall's proposals, and offering instead the old tax: an official agent was to be despatched with a large fund, and a "handsome present" was to be sent

<sup>1</sup> See *C.S.P.*, II, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 60 (Walrond—Sec. Nicholas, 29. 3. 61).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 47 (Mins. Council Barbados, March, 1661). This important resolution is not noted in the Calendar.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 47 (Mins. Council Barbados, 13. 3. 61).

to the King. To these proposals the Assembly returned an unsatisfactory reply, and was promptly dissolved<sup>1</sup>.

Humphrey Walrond was a hot-tempered man, and the steady opposition of the Assembly to all his plans had made him very angry. Under his auspices the Council issued a violent election address, explaining why the Assembly had been dissolved, and making the wild accusation that they wished to have the King of Spain or some foreign prince as proprietor<sup>2</sup>. Despite this appeal the new Assembly was practically the same as the old, and showed its temper by promptly choosing Modyford as their Speaker<sup>3</sup>. The Council seem to have accepted their defeat, for no further mention is made in the minutes of the matters under dispute, and both houses set themselves to the work of revising their past legislation. Two joint-committees had already failed to deal satisfactorily with the task of expunging any references in the laws which were disparaging to the Crown. It was now decided to repeal all Acts made while Searle was governor, and to re-enact those which were suitable. The Council and Assembly met in joint-session to carry out this proposal and to review all earlier legislation<sup>4</sup>.

In December 1662 a newly-elected Assembly with Modyford again as Speaker joined with the Council in a most important petition to the King. All parties now realised that the old quarrel was ended by the King's determination to resume the patent, and united to press their claims for as large a liberty as they dared. They asked that their titles should be confirmed as tenure in common socage by an Act of the English Parliament, that their children should be treated as free born in all the King's dominions, that no tax should be levied without the consent of the freeholders, "That we may have a free trade as England hath," and lastly that free trade be allowed with the coast of Africa, or else that the African Company should charge

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 84 (Mins. Council Barbados, 9-10 May, 61); cf. 85, 126-127 (proposals of President of Council to Assembly 3-4 July, 1661); 129 (President and Council—(?) Sec. Nicholas, 10. 7. 61).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 134 (19. 7. 61).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 141 (Mins. Council Barbados, 24-25. 7. 61); of 22 members only 6 were not re-elected. Cf. *C.S.P.*, II, 1 and 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 141, 150, 175 (Mins. Council Barbados, July-Sept. 61).

no more for slaves than did the private merchants<sup>1</sup>. These large demands were duly recorded in the minute book, yet it was this very Assembly which only a few months later was cajoled into passing a permanent revenue act.

The Order in Council of June 1663 had apportioned, with minute care, the non-existent revenue of the Caribbee Islands; it was now Willoughby's duty to secure some fund from which the various claims could be paid. Arriving at Barbados in August 1663 Willoughby summoned the old Assembly, elected under proprietary authority, to meet him on the 25th, and he spent the ensuing week in energetic canvassing to secure his aims<sup>2</sup>. When it met the Assembly chose Samuel Farmer as Speaker, "a heady turbulent man," who next year quarrelled violently with Willoughby and was sent to England. Willoughby asked Farmer to procure the passing of an Act granting an export duty of 10 per cent., but Farmer declared that this sum was worth more than all profits made in the island<sup>3</sup>. The Council and Assembly met in joint-session, according to the powers in Willoughby's patent, and after some "resolves" of the Assembly had been laid aside, a committee of two members of each house was appointed to consider the question of the tax<sup>4</sup>. On Sept. 10th Willoughby was able to report that the Assembly had agreed to an export duty of 4½ per cent., and hinted that more might be forthcoming if the Acts of Trade were modified in favour of Barbados<sup>5</sup>. Two days later was passed the famous Act which remained in force until it was repealed by the Imperial Parliament in 1838. In a lengthy preamble it stated that the Carlisle patent had been bought by the King, that most titles to land in the island were defective but could now be confirmed under the great seal of the island on application to Lord Willoughby, tenure to be in common socage at a nominal rent of

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 392 (petition of Dec. 1662); cf. 85 (petition of May, 1661). A proviso for no taxation without consent was included in Willoughby's commission, and quarrels over this led later to "Farmer's Case"; cf. *C.S.P.*, II, 1018, 1036, and Clarendon's *Life*, 497-8.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 383 (William Povey in Barbados—Thomas, 9. 9. 63).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1151 (Farmer's account, 16. 3. 66).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 544 (Mins. Council Barbados, 25. 8. 63). These Resolutions of the Assembly were not recorded in the Council Minute Book.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 561 (Willoughby—King, 10. 9. 63).

a grain of Indian corn. The "acknowledgement" of 40 lbs. of cotton per head and other proprietary dues were abolished.

And for as much as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the publick charges and expences; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majesty's authority here; the publick meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the Council, the reparation of the forts, the building of a session-house and a prison, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government; do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever.... That an impost or custom...upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score<sup>1</sup>.

The old Act of 1650 granting Willoughby an export duty (the "2 and 4 per cent."), was repealed.

The appropriation clause in this Act of 1663 was vague, and soon led to disputes. Immediately after securing this duty, Willoughby dissolved the Assembly, and called no other until July, 1665, when Farmer was again elected Speaker. This Assembly, at Farmer's instigation, refused to supply money for repairing the forts, on the ground that the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty was to cover all such expenses. Farmer also framed and presented, on behalf of the Assembly, a "Petition of Right," protesting against Willoughby's alleged misuse of the law-courts, and his illegal imprisonment of certain merchants. For these actions Farmer was hurried off to England, where he suffered long imprisonment, and the Assembly was dissolved<sup>2</sup>. In January, 1666, the dispute came to a head. A new Assembly was summoned by Willoughby to provide funds for the war, and refused on the former grounds, but offered to raise a loan on the credit of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Willoughby demanded a tax of half a million pounds of sugar, but this was definitely refused, though later

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., 11, 563. The Act, less one clause, was confirmed by Order in Council, 21. 4. 65. C.S.P., 11, 981. It is reprinted in Bryan Edwards, 1, 335-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 11, 1017 (Willoughby—King, 5. 7. 65), etc.

under the threat of French power an accommodation was offered<sup>1</sup>. This constitutional struggle, due to the vague wording of the Act<sup>2</sup>, was at bottom an economic question. The Caribbee Islands objected to pay a duty which was not paid by other plantations, such as Jamaica, and they claimed that this duty increased the cost of their sugars when re-exported from England, making successful competition in foreign markets almost impossible.

The negotiations in England had been carried on by merchants and planters interested chiefly in Barbados: of the Leeward Islands little or nothing was heard, but Willoughby determined to try and gain a similar concession from them. In March 1664 he set sail on a voyage to the Leeward Islands which he had not yet visited since his return to the West Indies and, calling at each island in turn, met the Council and Assembly and persuaded them to pass the necessary Act<sup>3</sup>. None of these Leeward Islands Acts contained an appropriation clause, though a petition at Nevis begged that the forts and standing guards might be maintained out of this duty, but this petition was largely disregarded<sup>4</sup>. There was not the same constitutional struggle as at Barbados, though Sir Charles Wheler, the governor of the Leeward Islands in 1671, was refused a tax to support his dignity as governor, on the ground that the new duty had abolished the old taxes<sup>5</sup>. The Leeward Acts declared all proprietary dues, such as the 20 lbs. of tobacco per head, to be abolished. They arranged for the confirmation of titles under the new seal, and in return for this granted the duty of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.<sup>6</sup> The Act of Antigua, where absentee landholders were a great problem, contained a special clause. Titles were to become void unless the land was actually settled within two years: and one Christian servant was to be employed for every

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1121 (Journal Assembly Barbados, Jan.—Mar. 66).

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that this was done deliberately—both parties hoping to put their own interpretation on the clause later. G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, Pt I, ch. I, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 764 (Willoughby—Arlington, 27. 6. 64); cf. 792 and 804.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 732 (Nevis petition, 29. 4. 64).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 775 (Wheler—C.F.P. 6. 3. 72).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, 981. The Acts were passed as follows: St Christopher, 19th April; Nevis, 30th April; Montserrat, 6th May; Antigua, 24th May.

acre held<sup>1</sup>. Thus the four islands purchased the confirmation of titles by passing the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty, and so came into line with Barbados. A problem occurred a little later; for during the French war both Antigua and Montserrat were captured by the enemy. After the peace the second Lord Willoughby visited them in 1668, and after passing Declaratory Acts stating that private ownership of lands was forfeited by the capture of the island, and that the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty was similarly annulled, he re-enacted the duty in both islands<sup>2</sup>. At St Christopher, where the English quarters had also been captured, there does not seem to have been a similar re-enactment, probably because the delay in the restoration of the island to the English drove the matter from men's minds. When Wheler finally obtained re-possession of St Christopher in 1671, the duty was remitted for three years, but after that it was again collected by virtue of the original Act of 1664<sup>3</sup>.

Thus by the middle of 1664 royal authority was firmly established in the Caribbee Islands. Willoughby held his office from the King, and was responsible to him direct, without the intervention of any proprietor, and each island had passed a permanent revenue act. The planters, however, had already found that royal authority, no less than proprietary, had its drawbacks.

## NOTE A

### THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT IN BARBADOS

Besides the official documents preserved in the Public Record Office, a valuable account of the negotiations is given by Clarendon [*Life* (ed. 1759), pp. 490-498], as a reply to the ninth article of his impeachment, which charged him with introducing arbitrary government into the plantations. Writing several years after the events and with no documents at hand for reference except the Order in Council

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 981, Act of Antigua.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1905 (Montserrat Acts, 15-16 Ap. 68), printed Acts of Montserrat (1740), pp. 2-3. *C.S.P.*, II, 1902 (Antigua Acts, 10 and 19 Ap. 68), printed Acts of Caribbee Leeward Islands (1734), pp. 25-7, and pp. 33-4. At Nevis the original Act of 1664 was apparently re-enacted verbatim on 25th May, 1675: why, is not quite clear. *C.S.P.*, IV, 570.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 677 and 1237 (i).

of 1663, Clarendon states that there may be minor errors in his story. The drawback to the account is its lack of dates, but almost every statement can be corroborated by the appropriate document, and it thus forms a valuable guide in this rather intricate matter. The almost total absence, after 1660, of minutes of the meetings of the committee dealing with this question, makes the details of the negotiations sometimes difficult to trace. There are only two such minutes (7th May, 1661 and 5th June, 1662: *C.S.P.*, II, 83 and 309)—mere rough notes in Secretary Nicholas' hand; but it is obvious that other meetings were held. Nicholas' pencil note on the back of a draft report of the Council for Plantations (*C.S.P.*, II, 80, April 1661), corroborates Clarendon's statement that the King refused to take any advantage from the opinion of law officers. Clarendon was a member of the committee (his own statement and *C.S.P.*, II, 847, though his name is omitted in the incomplete list in *C.S.P.*, I, p. 483), and his interest in the business is shown by the endorsement on the creditors' petition: "To be presented to the King by your Honour, when my Lord Chancellor is by, who knows the whole matter." (*C.S.P.*, II, 485; cf. *ib.* 39 and 180). It is worth noting that this business was dealt with from beginning to end by the originally appointed Committee of the Council, with an addition of members from time to time, and was not transferred to the new-formed Council of Plantations, of which a great number of the interested parties were members.

## NOTE B

### THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PASSING OF THE $4\frac{1}{2}$ PER CENT. DUTY

The chief accounts are:

- (1) Willoughby's letter, *C.S.P.*, II, 561 (10. 9. 63).
- (2) William Povey's letter to his brother Thomas. Egerton 2395, fo. 383 (9. 9. 63).
- (3) Farmer's account in his defence before the King. *C.S.P.*, II, 1151 (16. 3. 66).
- (4) Newton's accusations against Willoughby. *C.S.P.*, II, 989 (15. 5. 65).
- (5) "An account of the English Sugar Plantations." *C.S.P.*, II, 1679 (23. 1. 68), and Stowe, 324, 3—.

Of these the first two are favourable to Lord Willoughby. In his own account Willoughby gives but a brief statement of facts: Povey describes Willoughby's energetic canvassing, and mentions casually that the Assembly have also granted him an excise on liquors. The other accounts are hostile. Farmer speaks of Willoughby's absurd request for 10 per cent., and declares he has embezzled the liquor



excise, as he collects it without publishing the Act. Newton goes further and states that the acceptance of the excise has cost the King dear as the Assembly were ready to grant 5 instead of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. He also points out that half the excise should go to the King. In the last document the writer complains of Willoughby having made use of a proprietary Assembly to pass the Act, after he had declared all offices held under the patent to be void. He accuses Willoughby of double-dealing in that he told this Assembly that the Act would be used merely as an argument to persuade a legal Assembly which was to be promptly called. That such an argument was used at all widely by Willoughby seems quite impossible, and it is not mentioned by Farmer who at the time of his defence hated Willoughby violently. It is quite clear that the Assembly passed the Act with their eyes open. The immediate disputes which followed and the growing hatred of the tax made any accusation useful which threw odium on the method of enacting the objectionable duty.

## NOTE C

### THE RECORDS OF THE BARBADOS ASSEMBLY, 1660-1666

As is usually the case with early records of colonial assemblies, notes of the business transacted are only preserved when they directly affect the Council, and are then entered in the Council Minute Book. Thus there exist records of the meetings of the Assemblies of 1661 and 1662-3. There is then an entry stating that no further Council business was transacted, except notices for meetings of Field Officers, until January 1667, and no entries at all occur until that date. Thus the only records of the Assembly of 1665 are the details given in Willoughby's letters (*C.S.P.*, II, 1017, 1018, 1036), and those given by Farmer in his defence before the King (*C.S.P.*, II, 1151), but no list of members is preserved. Similarly the records of the Assembly of 1666 do not appear in the Council Book, but the full story of the doings of this Assembly, which fought so strongly against the imposition of any new tax, was sent back to Farmer while he was still a prisoner in England. These elaborate minutes have been preserved and contain a list of members (*C.S.P.*, II, 1121; cf. 1185). It is possible that these doings were not entered in the Council Minute Book as Willoughby did not wish to have a formal record of the dispute. Minutes of the Barbados Council, commencing with the meeting of 28th May, 1660, are bound up in *C.O.*, 31, 1.

## CHAPTER II

### ENGLISH, FRENCH AND DUTCH UP TO THE PEACE OF BREDA

In fine the dispute will be whether the King of England or of France shall be monarch of the West Indies, for the King of Spain cannot hold it long.

LORD WILLOUGHBY (6. 10. 64), *C.S.P.*, II, 832.

WHEN first the Northern nations invaded the Spanish preserves in the West Indies they came as plundering rovers to seize what they could and then sail home to enjoy their spoils, and when they first began to settle they did so tentatively, planting themselves on the very outskirts of the Spanish dominions, on those small islands which the Spaniards, in their Westward rush for gold, had almost forgotten. Driven by mutual need the invaders though of different nationalities had acted in common; the French and English had even settled on St Christopher side by side and had made agreements for common action against the foe. By 1660, however, a new era in West Indian development was opening. The Elizabethan tradition of plundering the Spaniard, had continued in the filibustering attacks from Old Providence until its capture in 1641<sup>1</sup>. It bore its last fruit in Cromwell's "Western Design," and the resulting capture of Jamaica. Then it was recognised that such a policy was behind the times, and with the Restoration Povey's carefully thought out plans for an English West India Company which should devote itself chiefly to pillaging the Spaniards were laid aside, and the government concentrated its attention on the problems of planting and the regulation of trade<sup>2</sup>.

The alteration in the balance of power in Europe brought France to the front instead of Spain, and English policy, changing its form but not its spirit, soon sought alliance even with Spain, to check the growth of the new rival. Although

<sup>1</sup> See A. P. Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans* (Yale Hist. Publications), where the importance of the Providence Company is examined.

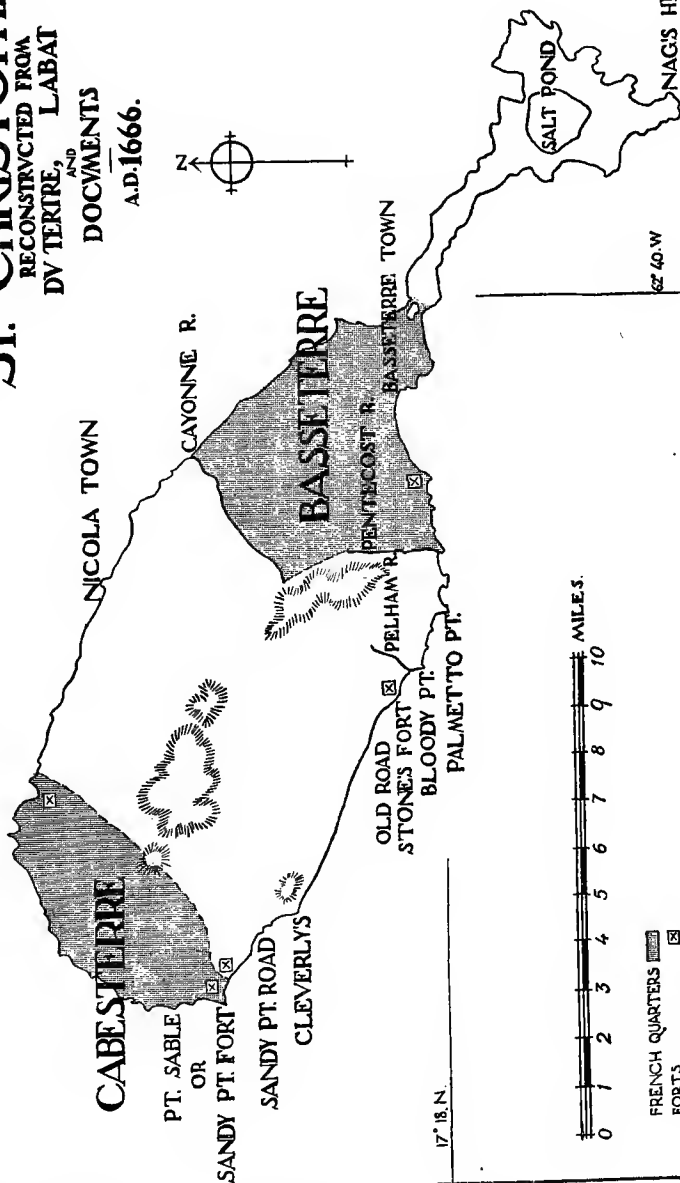
<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 87-89, etc.

# ST. CHRISTOPHER

RECONSTRUCTED FROM  
DV'TERRE, LABAT

AND  
DOCUMENTS

A.D. 1666.



FRENCH QUARTERS  
FORTS

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
MILES.



the private negotiations of Charles II made the Triple Alliance of 1670 almost a dead letter, yet that alliance showed which way the wind was blowing, and in a few years William III was to become King of England as the declared enemy of Louis XIV and all his schemes.

In France as well as England increasing attention was paid to the colonies. On Mazarin's death in 1661 Louis declared that he would be his own first minister, and with Colbert as his assistant, he undertook the task of reorganising his colonies. Both countries were faced with a similar problem in the West Indies, for there the colonies of each nation were under a proprietary form of government, and their trade was almost entirely in the hands of the Dutch. The Restoration Government in England and Colbert in France set to work to bring these plantations under direct royal authority, and so to regulate their commerce as to exclude foreign shipping from the carrying trade.

This growth of a vigorous colonial policy and the direct interference with the plantations in the vital matter of trade, awoke in the West Indies that spirit of nationality which had long lain dormant in face of the common danger, Spanish or Indian. Even the Buccaneers, that nondescript band of adventurers of every nation, began to split up into their various nationalities, till after the capture of Panama by Morgan in 1670 they were gradually suppressed, and treated as pirates. Against this newly developed spirit of nationality, carefully fostered as it was from home, the old system of agreements and alliances could never hope to stand, and so began that struggle for supremacy which was so disastrous for the planters of the West Indies. In 1659 French and English colonists could make a treaty for concerted action against the Caribs<sup>1</sup>, by 1668 the French of St Christopher could draw up a list of "*Raisons qui prouvent qu'il est impossible que les deux Nations Française et Angloise puissent vivre en paix*".

St Christopher was the home of the first French settlers in the Antilles, and D'Esnambuc their leader, under the authority of the newly formed Company of St Christopher, returned from

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 186-7.

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 355.

France in 1627 and divided the island with the English he found there<sup>1</sup>. Despite the lack of adequate support from France, and the expulsion of the settlers in 1629 by the Spaniards, the colony grew steadily and began to build up that trade with the Dutch which Colbert found so firmly established. By 1635 D'Esnambuc found himself strong enough to settle some planters on the island of Martinique while Guadeloupe was planted the same year by settlers sent out direct from France, by the new Company, but this settlement proved very slow and backward largely owing to the bad policy of attempting to settle a new island with men straight from Europe.

Martinique, on the other hand, planted by men who had been well acclimatised in St Christopher, quickly proved successful. Tortuga, a small island lying to the north of Hispaniola (soon to be famous as the chosen home of buccaneers)<sup>2</sup> was settled in the same year by Levasseur with planters from St Christopher; he was a very independent character, and till his death in 1650 the island owed but a nominal allegiance to the French company.

The early planters had relied on tobacco as their staple crop until over-production glutted the market and the Company of the Isles of America, which had succeeded to the Company of St Christopher, began a definite policy of encouraging the cultivation of the sugar cane<sup>3</sup>. This enriched the islands but not the Company, for the local governors, de Poincy in St Christopher and Houel in Guadeloupe, took good care to pocket the profits: de Poincy even held out in St Christopher against his legally appointed successor and forced him to return to France<sup>4</sup>. The result was that the Company became bankrupt in 1648 and resolved to sell the islands. The fact that the governors themselves bought the islands which they had ruled proves sufficiently that a reasonable profit was being made even if the Company

<sup>1</sup> For the early settlement of the French in the West Indies see S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (Yale Hist. Studies); du Tertre, *Hist. Générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667), gives a contemporary account of these events based largely on original documents which he incorporated in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the buccaneers is told in C. H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>3</sup> Mims, 30-36, and documents there quoted.

<sup>4</sup> Du Tertre, I, 285-292 and 343-370.

did not receive it: thus Houel purchased Guadeloupe, du Parquet Martinique, and the Knights of Malta the island of St Christopher where de Poincy, one of their number, was continued as governor<sup>1</sup>.

This period of proprietary rule lasted until 1664 when Colbert turned his eyes to the West Indies and founded the West India Company: it was a prosperous period during which, despite many internal quarrels between the proprietors, new islands were settled, and trade grew quickly but fell almost entirely into the hands of the Dutch. Spreading southward the French from Guadeloupe settled on the Saints, and Mariegalante. From Martinique, small settlements were made on Grenada, and among the Caribs of St Lucia. From St Christopher the expansion was northward: St Martin's was settled in conjunction with the Dutch from Statia, the new island being divided between the two nations: St Bartholomew was secured in face of violent opposition from the Caribs, and a surprise attack on the Spaniards secured St Croix for the French.

Politically these fourteen islands were under the rule of French proprietors, and were theoretically in the possession of the French King, but industrially and commercially they were in the possession of the Dutch<sup>2</sup>.

To alter this anomaly Colbert set to work, and after calling for various reports, in 1663 sent M. de Tracy, a wise old soldier, to visit the islands and attempt a settlement of the various civil quarrels and disorders which had broken out. As a preliminary measure the Company of Cayenne was formed, which, early in 1664, sent its first expedition, under the command of one of its principal promoters, M. de la Barre, to capture the island of Cayenne from the Dutch. This expedition was completely successful, the Dutch readily selling their plantations and leaving the island. In May, 1664, Colbert formed the West India Company. It was largely a state-aided concern<sup>3</sup>, organised with the definite idea of getting rid of the foreign trader and encouraging the growth of a French mercantile marine. It was

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, 1, 438-448.

<sup>2</sup> Mims, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 74-82, where the subscriptions are analysed and it is shown that three-fifths of the total was actually subscribed by the King.

granted vast tracts of land—all the French plantations in America, and also the West Coast of Africa, but it concentrated on the West Indian trade. The Company was never able to fulfil all the demands of the French islands, and its monopoly of trade had constantly to be modified, either in favour of the Dutch, or of the French private merchant, but when in 1674 the Company ceased to exist, the French shipping was sufficient to undertake the carrying trade of the islands: to this extent Colbert's policy was successful.

It is needless to say that the proprietors looked with disfavour on the formation of this Company, which absorbed their proprietary rights, and though the presence of de Tracy at Martinique ensured the reception of the new governor de Clodoré, a revolt broke out shortly after headed by a son of the old proprietor, but de Clodoré with the aid of du Lion, Governor of Guadeloupe, succeeded in suppressing it<sup>1</sup>. The Governor of St Christopher, de Sales, was continued in his office, but the discontent of the planters at the new arrangement expressed itself in a petition stating their old rights and customs. The answer gave them but limited satisfaction<sup>2</sup>. Thus the Company's authority was established over the islands despite much grumbling from the discontented planters who took it ill to see their old friends, the Dutch, forbidden to trade with them and complained loudly of the general lack of goods and of the prices charged by de Chambré, the Company's agent.

When French and English first settled side by side on the island of St Christopher they regarded each other as comrades in a great adventure in which the Spaniard was the giant: national jealousies faded before this common danger, and they made the first of a series of agreements which defined the boundaries of their respective quarters and regulated their relations with each other. The earliest of these treaties<sup>3</sup> was signed in 1627 between D'Esnambuc and Warner, the English governor. It contained clauses guaranteeing each governor's authority in his own part of the islands, and ordering that no ship should trade without permission from the governor of its

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, III, 186 and 218-238.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 254-265.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 9-12; Du Tertre, I, 17-20.



nation, who should fix all prices. Provision was made for trial of offenders by a joint jury, and for extradition of runaway slaves. The salt pans which lay beyond the French quarter, the sulphur mine (on Brimston Hill in the English quarter), woods, roadsteads, and highways were all declared to be common and open to the use of both nations. Provision was made for concerted action if necessary against the Carib and against the Spaniard.

S'il se faisoit descente dans l'Isle par les Espagnols, au lieu de la descente un chacun sera tenu d'y envoyer du secours plus puissant que faire se pourra, et s'entre-secourir de tout leur pouvoir.

The most important clause however was the last which sufficiently emphasised the outlook of the early settlers: they came to the Antilles as allies rather than as different nations, and could not understand why even if their nations were at war in Europe, they should waste their strength in America by fighting among themselves,

S'il arrive guerre en l'Europe entre les François et Anglois, pour cela ne pourront les-dits Sieurs se faire la guerre, s'il ne leur est expressement commandé par leurs Princes: en cas de tel commandement, seront obligez de s'entre-avertir auparavant de faire aucun acte d'hostilité<sup>1</sup>.

The idea contained in this clause was destined to develop: before the war of 1666 broke out the French made desperate efforts to extend its scope and to get it ratified, while after the peace of Breda the governor of the Leeward Islands, Sir William Stapleton, worked hard to draw up a general treaty of neutrality between the French and the English in the West Indies. The current of events was, however, to prove too strong for him, and the planters were condemned to an almost unending war with their neighbours. It was customary to confirm the treaty with any necessary additions or modifications at intervals, and generally on a change of governors<sup>2</sup>. On D'Esnambuc's death it was renewed in 1638 by Fromenteau<sup>3</sup>, acting as lieutenant to de Poincy, who was now appointed Lieut.-General of all the French islands in America. De Poincy himself renewed it in

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, I, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 275.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, 475; Egerton 2395, fo. 30-33.

1644<sup>1</sup>. The English part of St Christopher was one of the islands which stood out for the royalist cause, and Warner's successor, Roland Rich, when confirming the treaty with de Poincy in 1649 styled himself "Governor of St Christopher's island under H.M. King Charles the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King<sup>2</sup>." The next ratification came about in rather a strange fashion. Despite Ayscue's expedition and his success at Barbados, part, at least, of St Christopher remained loyal to the King, and Penn landed in November 1655 to enforce the authority of the Protector. Joining forces with the governor, Clement Everard, he demanded of the French permission to march along the highway to the Windward quarter, according to the old agreement. De Poincy, however, thought this a good opportunity to claim the renewal of the treaties which was promptly conceded<sup>3</sup>. The old clauses were confirmed, and new regulations added, laying fines (in tobacco) on any who harboured runaway slaves, ordering that no man, of one nation, should be held as servant to a master of the other nation, without due permission from the governor: the liberty of cutting wood was restricted, and it was laid down that a merchant must charge the same price to French and English and not exceed the maximum fixed by the governor. The opening clause of the treaty was new—

That no speech be uttered or given out from any of the French nation tending to the abuse, disrespect, or dishonour, of His Highness, the Lord Protector of England, his government, or governors or of the English nation in general<sup>4</sup>.

The same was ordained with regard to the French.

The last ratification before the negotiations of 1666, when the French strove to prevent the European war spreading to the West Indies, was concluded in 1662 on the arrival of the new English governor of St Christopher. Captain William Watts was a sea captain with such experience of the West Indies that he was appointed a member of the Select Council for Plantations

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, *op. cit.*; Egerton 2395, fo. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, I, 475-9; cf. Thurloe, *S.P.*, III, 574 (letter from Capt. Gregory Butler)—Butler says that Everard is a mere self-seeker.

<sup>4</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 62-5; du Tertre, I, 474-9; Southey, II, 6-8 gives a translation of du Tertre's text.

formed in 1660, but he did not serve long on that body for he came out with Lord Willoughby's commission as Deputy Governor of St Christopher, in which island he was soon to find a shameful grave. In 1662 he and M. de Sales, the French governor for the Knights of Malta, once again ratified the treaties, citing by name those of 1627, 1638, 1644 and 1649, but omitting all reference to Everard's treaty of 1655, for he had acted by the authority of the Usurper. The text of this new treaty was, however, practically a verbatim transcript of that signed by Everard<sup>1</sup>.

Besides these periodical agreements at St Christopher there is other evidence that the French and English in early days recognised the need for mutual co-operation in the various perils that surrounded them. When the increase in the production of tobacco threatened to make its cultivation unprofitable, de Poincy and Warner agreed to cease its cultivation for eighteen months<sup>2</sup>, and though he was unable to secure the compliance of Guadeloupe, where d'Olive had an agreement with the Company to take all his tobacco for six years at a fixed price, de Poincy thought it a distinct grievance when he chanced to find that in Antigua the planters were still growing tobacco<sup>3</sup>. The best example, however, of joint action between the two nations in the Antilles, is in the case of their agreement as to the Caribs. After many quarrels and much fighting with these savages the islanders realised the need of a definite policy in dealing with them, and that if this policy was to be successful the two nations must act together and show a common front. The result of this decision was that in 1659 a treaty was made between the French governors of St Christopher and Guadeloupe, and the English governors of Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat, arranging for an offensive and defensive alliance against the Caribs<sup>4</sup>. M. Houel, the governor of Guadeloupe, and

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 342-6; du Tertre, III, 277-9 (see Note A at end of chapter).

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, I, 143-145 (A.D. 1639).

<sup>3</sup> Egerton 2597, fo. 192, reprinted in *Caribbeana*, III, 315.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 2395, fo. 186-7; du Tertre, I, 572-7. The English at St Christopher are not parties to this treaty, probably owing to their governor Everard having recently failed to keep his agreement in an Indian expedition. *C.S.P.*, I, p. 473, No. 63, I.

Osborne of Montserrat were to be jointly responsible for any necessary action, and a common fund with the merchants of Basseterre was established for this purpose. The negotiation of this very statesmanlike treaty was largely the work of de Poincy, and had this policy been continued it would have saved both parties endless bloodshed, and many treacherous attacks. In a short time, however, the opportunity of securing cunning and cruel allies was too strong to be resisted; but for the moment all seemed well, for Houel's efforts pacified the Carib war at Martinique, and brought not only the Caribs of that island, but even those of St Vincent and Dominica to agree to a Treaty of Peace. By 1660 it might well seem that the French and English had reached a stage where they could live in peace in America, whatever might befall their respective nations on the other side of the Atlantic.

The Dutch were the third power who disputed the Spanish monopoly of the New World, but they came rather as traders than buccaneers or settlers: so successful were they that up to 1660 they almost monopolised the trade of the French and English settlements, and carried on a large contraband trade with the Spaniard. The success of their struggle for independence at home led to renewed efforts abroad, and in 1621 the Dutch West India Company was founded, with trade monopoly including, besides the West Indies, the West coast of Africa. The private trading posts established previously were not absorbed immediately by the Company for it turned its attention to a more ambitious scheme and carried on the old struggle with Spain by conquering the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Even this conquest was a trading venture and the Company counted on obtaining the whole of the sugar trade from Brazil, but after a brief period of success the Dutch were finally expelled in 1661 by a native rising helped by the Portuguese, and were forced to flee to their other trading posts and to Barbados.

The Dutch settlements in the West Indies were rather "factories" than regular plantations like those of the French and English. These trading posts fall naturally into three groups. Among the islands the Dutch held Tortola in the Virgin Islands, and shared with the French, St Martin's. St Eustatius or

Statia<sup>1</sup> just to the north of St Christopher was a famous trading station where smuggling was carried on at a brisk pace when the Navigation Acts and Colbert's restrictive rules came into force. In 1690 "Statia" sugar was the cant phrase for smuggled goods<sup>2</sup>. Away to the south Curaçoa, just off the coast of the Main, was a flourishing depot whence a contraband trade was carried on with the Spaniard, and goods "run" to any island that had need of them<sup>3</sup>. The second group comprised the settlements in Guiana<sup>4</sup>, of which that at Kijk-Óveral in the Essequibo estuary was one of the most successful, from thence an important trade was carried on with Spanish settlements through Indian middlemen, and when necessary private war waged against a too energetic Spanish governor. After the French failure at Cayenne, the Dutch established themselves there, and between these northern and southern settlements lay Lord Willoughby's colony of Surinam. The island of Tobago is in a category of its own. The Duke of Courland claiming that his godfather, James I of England had given him the island, made some unsuccessful attempts to settle it. At last in 1654 a small colony of Dutch was established there under his protection, but when the Duke was seized four years later by the King of Sweden, the settlers revolted and claimed the island for themselves. Thus in 1660 Tobago was a Dutch island, but on the Duke's release, Charles II, foreseeing the Dutch war, confirmed the grant to him, with the proviso that the settlers must be either Courlanders or English subjects<sup>5</sup>.

Some idea of the extent to which the Dutch controlled the trade of the Leeward Islands can be found from the lists of Dutch goods confiscated in those islands during the war of 1652-4<sup>6</sup>. A few years later, in 1663, a fire broke out in the

<sup>1</sup> They also possessed the small rock of Saba, N.W. of Statia.

<sup>2</sup> Dalby Thomas, Chapter III. Compare also Mundy, *Life of Rodney*, II, 11, 15, 29, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raynal, *History of West Indies*, Bk XII, and *C.S.P.*, II, 937.

<sup>4</sup> An account of the early settlements of Guiana and Tobago is given by Edmundson, *E.H.R.*, xvi, 640-75. He there demonstrates the credibility of Scott's narrative (Sloane 3662).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 861 (King—Willoughby, 25. 11. 64); 854 (contract, 17. 11. 64); cf. *E.H.R.*, *op. cit.* Lucas, *West Indies*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>6</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 54-9. Reprinted in *Caribbeana*, II, 221 and 257.

French quarter of Basseterre, St Christopher, and destroyed some sixty warehouses belonging to the Dutch with foodstuffs to the value of 2,000,000 livres<sup>1</sup>.

There had long been jealous rivalry between Dutch and English for the various trade routes of the world; the attempts to exclude the Dutch trader from the English islands in the West Indies had not improved matters, but it was the clash of interests on the West coast of Africa that led once again to war. Hostilities began even before war was declared, and as a result of English reprisals against the Dutch West India Company in Africa, de Ruyter was ordered from the Mediterranean to re-establish Dutch supremacy. After capturing English ships and raiding shore stations de Ruyter sailed across the Atlantic to see what damage he could do in the West Indies, and giving chase to an English merchant fleet, forced it to take cover under the forts of Barbados. Here the Dutch bombarded the town and shipping, but were severely handled and forced to withdraw with the stern of one of their men-of-war blown right in<sup>2</sup>. Rumour said that de Ruyter was killed, but this proved to be false, and the fleet sailed north, and after victualling at Martinique, succeeded in carrying off shipping from the roads of Nevis and Montserrat<sup>3</sup>, and then went home. This expedition of de Ruyter was rather a display of force, a threat of what might yet be done, than a deliberate attempt to capture any of the plantations, and with his return to Holland the tables were turned and success lay with the English.

While de Ruyter was at Barbados, Lord Willoughby was visiting his plantation of Surinam, but he returned post haste and summoned a meeting of his deputy-governors to arrange a plan of campaign. The Dutch trading posts lay unprotected and it was decided to attack the nearest first: Watts from St Christopher was to surprise Statia and Saba, while Willoughby planned to seize Tobago, less than 48 hours sail from Barbados, and also to attempt the settlements in Guiana<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, I, 586.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 980, 983 (Henry Willoughby—King, 20. 4. 1665); du Tertre, III, 197–200, exaggerates the English losses.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 992, 994 (Lord Willoughby—King, 20. 5. 1665).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1067 (letter from Governor Watts, 18. 10. 65).

These plans however went astray, for Sir Thomas Modyford, who was now governor of Jamaica, managed to get together a fleet of buccaneers, men ever ready for an adventure in which there was hope of plunder, but difficult to control and to keep together for any long or distant enterprise. This expedition under the command of Col. Edward Morgan consisted of some six small ships and 600 buccaneers, and on July 23rd, 1665, was successful in taking Statia after the shortest resistance although the garrison had but lately been strengthened by de Ruyter<sup>1</sup>. The ease with which Statia and later Tobago were captured by these ruffians from strong garrisons holding well fortified posts, was probably due to the terror inspired by their name, and to the lack of hope of any help from home. The death of Col. Morgan, and the violent disputes over the booty led to the break up of the expedition, and the end of their confident hopes of taking Tortola and then Curaçoa<sup>2</sup>. Watts thus found himself forestalled in his plans, and had to satisfy the planters' desire for plunder by attacking the Dutch quarter of St Martin's, where the buccaneers had placed the expelled inhabitants of Statia, but he got little for his pains, for though he succeeded in driving the settlers to the woods, they had placed their goods in safety with the French<sup>3</sup>.

Willoughby's plans for seizing the important island of Tobago, which lay on the way to Surinam, were again thwarted by the Jamaicans. Shortly before his arrival the buccaneers had landed, and despite their small numbers had forced the Dutch to capitulate: it was only by giving the conquerors leave to sell their plunder that he could preserve the plantations from fire and hold the island for the King<sup>4</sup>. In both of these buccaneering expeditions there appears that overlapping of authority in the West Indies which so often meant friction and trouble. It was indeed a triumph on Modyford's part to yoke the buccaneers to the service of the King at all, though his policy in the end became too successful, and after the sacking of

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1042, 1043, 1085, 1088.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1085 (Modyford—Arlington, 16. 11. 65).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1087 (Watts' letter, 18. 10. 65).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1125 (Willoughby—Arlington, 29. 1. 66).

Panama and Porto Bello by Henry Morgan, Modyford was recalled. All the islands captured at this time by the buccaneers lay within Willoughby's government, and he looked with some jealousy on Modyford's energetic action: indeed the anxiety to forestall Modyford in the recapture of St Christopher in 1666 probably led him to undertake an immediate expedition which would otherwise have been postponed until after the hurricane season<sup>1</sup>. The buccaneers on their expedition against Statia had been refused recruits at St Christopher unless they would receive commissions from Willoughby, and after the capture of the island they refused to hand it over to him until they had received orders from the King or from Jamaica<sup>2</sup>. Willoughby complained strongly of this state of affairs and asked for specific instructions how to deal with such a case in the future<sup>3</sup>. Thus during 1665 the Dutch were almost expelled from the Caribbean Sea; the only island of any value left them was Curaçoa; but on their side they played havoc with the unprotected English shipping, and merchantmen were ordered to return in convoys to avoid the risk of capture<sup>4</sup>. The entry of the French as allies of the Dutch soon changed the state of affairs, and gave the most serious cause for alarm to the English planters.

While the Dutch war was going on thus successfully for the English in the West Indies, affairs were gradually drifting towards a break with the French. Despite the Indian pact of 1659, and the neutrality treaties of St Christopher, when Willoughby arrived in Barbados in 1663, he found that there were still causes of friction with the French. For many years Barbados had been the home of fugitives from England, and Cromwell had deported so many malignants that the phrase to "Barbados" a man became a common slang expression<sup>5</sup>. Thus by the time of the Restoration the island found itself overcrowded with white settlers, and the poorer sort looked for some new place in which to settle. The nearest available island to which the

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, III, 114, suggests this motive on the authority of a captured Scotch sea captain.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1088 (Col. Cary's account).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1125 (Willoughby—Arlington, 29. 1. 66).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1079-1084 (16. 11. 65).

<sup>5</sup> Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, II, 438.



English had any shadow of a claim was St Lucia, which from 1639-40 had supported a small English colony eventually wiped out by the Caribs. Later it became the home of a not over successful colony of French planters, who owed allegiance to Martinique<sup>1</sup>. To St Lucia accordingly planters drifted from Barbados, and when Willoughby was questioned about this by the French governor of Martinique, he declared that the island belonged of right to the English Crown, and stated his intention of continuing the settlement<sup>2</sup>. The next governor of Martinique, M. de Clermont, appointed as guardian to the children of the late proprietors, spoke more strongly, and threatened to expel the English by force<sup>3</sup>. This was hardly the way to persuade Willoughby, and on receiving the royal approval of his policy, the English governor proceeded to take full possession of the island<sup>4</sup>. By the help of "Indian" Warner, the son of old Sir Thomas and a Carib woman, he had already negotiated a purchase of the island from the Caribs, and in June 1664, partly out of his own pocket and partly from the proceeds of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty he equipped an expedition and, accompanied by 600 Caribs in their canoes, planted 1000 men on St Lucia<sup>5</sup>. The French governor capitulated without firing a shot, for which he was promptly imprisoned by de Tracy, who had recently arrived in the Antilles. In order to smooth matters over Willoughby tried to placate de Tracy with a polite letter, but that wily Frenchman referred the matter to Colbert and declared he had no further power of negotiation until the King's pleasure should be known<sup>6</sup>. Willoughby on his side begged

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, I, 434-438. The conflicting claims to St Lucia are drafted in Williamson's hand. *C.S.P.*, II, 887-893.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 565 (23. 9. 63).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 581-582 (19. 11. 63); du Tertre does not relate these early negotiations but refers to them, III, 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 578 (Willoughby—King, 4. 11. 63); 628 (King's answer, 11. 1. 64).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 792 (Willoughby—Arlington, 25. 8. 64); du Tertre, III, 81-82, and 86-90.

<sup>6</sup> Du Tertre, III, 88-90 gives de Tracy's dignified reply to Willoughby's letter, but dates it 18th April, 1664; this month should probably be August; April is quite impossible as the island was not taken till June, 1664; 18th July (French style) is the date of de Tracy's letter to de Clermont ordering him to send to St Lucia and demand the cannon, between which time and

Arlington to see that Charles did not order the restitution of the island<sup>1</sup>. There was, however, now no danger of that and the home government again ordered St Lucia to be strengthened as the day for its defence was drawing near<sup>2</sup>. Willoughby used Warner in another way which pleased the French no better than in the matter of St Lucia. Commissioning him as deputy-governor, Willoughby sent him to live in the island of St Vincent<sup>3</sup> one of the two islands reserved by the Pact of 1659, and this was of course regarded as a breach of agreement by the French. No further action was taken at the time, but the Barbados policy of expansion caused much ill-feeling between the two nations.

Meanwhile in Europe the war-cloud was drawing nearer and both nations in the West Indies realised it.

From Barbados Willoughby looked with jealousy and alarm at the increasing activity among the French islands; de Tracy's mission in 1664 and the capture of Cayenne brought home to him the energy with which the French government were pushing their affairs in the West Indies, and the strength of the expedition lost nothing in the telling<sup>4</sup>. The formation of the French West India Company increased his alarm<sup>5</sup>, while the defective communications with home, largely due to Dutch activity, made him fear that if war broke out he might not hear until too late<sup>6</sup>. The French on their side were uneasy; they were generally in need of powder, and St Christopher was peculiarly open to a surprise attack. Besides the numerical superiority of the English on that island, Nevis contained a reserve of men for the English, while the dreaded buccaneers established at Statia were a perpetual threat. Wishing above all things to

de Tracy's letter Willoughby's first letter was written. *C.S.P.*, II, 801 (Willoughby—Tracy) is the reply to de Tracy's letter given in du Tertre; it is dated 14. 9. 1664.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 822 (Willoughby—Arlington, 5. 10. 64).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 991 (Arlington—Willoughby, 16. 5. 65).

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, III, 82-4, where Willoughby's commission to Warner is reproduced.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Willoughby's letter, *C.S.P.*, II, 792, with du Tertre's account, III, 23.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 823.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1079 (orders for convoys), 1125, 1186, 1187 (Willoughby's letters, 29th January; 21st April, 66).

secure himself from the danger of a surprise attack, de Sales opened negotiations with Watts to secure the ratification once again of the Treaty of Neutrality<sup>1</sup>. The French governor aided by de Chambré who had just taken over St Christopher on behalf of the West India Company<sup>2</sup>, asked that the treaty should be renewed as usual on a change of governors. The negotiations hung fire; but at last Watts was forced to sign an agreement confirming the old pacts by name and quoting the neutrality clause in full, with the additional stipulation that "thrice twenty-four hours" grace should be given, after the direct order to commence hostilities should have been communicated to the enemy governor. Watts neglected to ratify the treaty until, as du Tertre alleges, he realised that the French were fully prepared to meet a surprise attack. The treaty was signed on 20th January, 1666, and ratifications exchanged on the 17th March. Throughout all these proceedings and the subsequent outbreak of hostilities, Watts' character and motives are blackened most freely in the French account: he is pictured as negotiating the treaty merely to allay French suspicions and planning all the time a sudden attack as soon as the news of the outbreak of hostilities should arrive.

Watts' hesitation to confirm this treaty thus signed, and the fact that he was only a deputy of Lord Willoughby, decided de Chambré, after consultation with the governor of Martinique, to send M. du Blanc as envoy to Willoughby. Du Blanc was instructed to negotiate a general treaty of neutrality, including Jamaica as well as the Caribbees, and containing the proviso that even if direct orders should arrive for the commencement of hostilities a full month's notice should be given instead of the 72 hours stipulated at St. Christopher<sup>3</sup>. Du Blanc arrived at Barbados where he was royally received by Willoughby; but

<sup>1</sup> The account of the negotiations rests chiefly on French evidence (du Tertre, III, 275-296), but there is confirmatory evidence from English sources, e.g. Egerton 2395, fo. 348 (du Blanc's instructions), and the statement that before war broke out the French worked strenuously for neutrality. *C.S.P.*, II, 1278.

<sup>2</sup> On 13th December, 1665, French style, du Tertre, III, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, III, 288, 289 gives du Blanc's proposals to Willoughby. They agree substantially with his instructions which are preserved in Egerton 2395, fo. 348, though omitted by du Tertre for want of space.

after lengthy delays he left with a very unsatisfactory answer. The French were furious with Willoughby's tactics, and accused him of being in league with Watts to delude them with hopes of peace while he was planning their destruction: there can be little doubt that the French anxiety to negotiate this treaty rendered the English governors more sanguine of success if only they could get the news before their enemy. The attempt on the part of the French to arrange for a local neutrality was in accordance with their instructions from home, for the newly launched West India Company hoped to continue trading in peace in the New World, whatever might happen in the Old.

Tous nos Gouverneurs François avoient des ordres expres de la Campagnie, de rechercher par toutes les voyes raisonnables, la neutralité entre les deux Nations dans les Ant-Isles<sup>1</sup>.

The official letters from Colbert and the King to the governor of Martinique announcing the outbreak of war both enjoin him to do his utmost to preserve neutrality with the English, but to take precautions against attack and to be ready to take the offensive with all vigour if necessary<sup>2</sup>.

Such a policy of local neutrality was never even considered in England. Here also it was recognised that St Christopher was the weak spot in the French armour, and it was determined to strike there. Towards the end of 1665 Willoughby was warned that war was imminent, and was instructed to be ready to seize St Christopher<sup>3</sup>. Meanwhile in Barbados all the planters were alarmed by the continual rumours of war with France<sup>4</sup>, while the French were still anxious to conclude their treaty of neutrality. Willoughby's distrust of the means of communication with home was amply justified, for both to Barbados and to the Leeward Islands news of the outbreak of war came in a casual manner. In April, Willoughby had received no news from the Leeward Islands for three months, and on his own responsibility stopped the homeward-bound merchant fleet, and after raising some men despatched it under the command of his nephew,

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, III, 282.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* IV, 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1098-9 (Arlington—Willoughby, 5. 12. 65).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1125 (Willoughby—Arlington, 29. 1. 66).

Henry Willoughby, to see what had happened<sup>1</sup>. Almost immediately after a sea-captain arrived with copies of the proclamation in his pocket, but the King's official letter and the order to take St Christopher only came after the loss of the English settlements there<sup>2</sup>.

The news of the outbreak of war reached St Christopher in a private letter which enclosed the King's declaration. Watts immediately informed the French governor, and strengthened himself with 400 planters from Nevis, and a party of buccaneers from Statia<sup>3</sup>. De Sales, the French governor, on seeing these reinforcements, sent to Watts, reminding him of the recent Treaty of Neutrality, and saying that as the latter had not received definite orders from his King to commence hostilities, this landing of troops was a breach of agreement. The English governor replied that he must serve his King, and that he had already given the 72 hours notice required<sup>4</sup>.

On the receipt of this unsatisfactory reply the French, who were much fewer in numbers, determined to surprise their enemy, rather than wait to be attacked. As all the English reinforcements had landed in the Leeward quarter, the French troops at Basseterre were drawn up along the boundary there, but seeing that Watts intended to attack the north end of the island first, de Sales moved his men during the night to the Cayonne river and at daybreak with some 700 men fell upon the English Windward quarter where they were totally unexpected<sup>5</sup>. With the governor and two "religious" at their head they swept along, their negroes setting fire to the plantations and houses. They met with but little resistance until the brave defence of St Nicholas church cost them the life of de Sales and several others. Overcoming this check they pushed on, and were successful in reaching their quarter of Capsterre some even going through that quarter to the relief of the fort near Sandy Point which had offered a successful resistance to the frantic attack of the buccaneers.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1186-7 (Willoughby—King, 21. 4. 66).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1204, 1205, 1244.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1179 (relation of loss of S. C.); 1181 (Russell—Sir John Knight, 11. 4. 66).

<sup>4</sup> Note B, at end of chapter. Du Tertre, IV, 15-16. <sup>5</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 24-25.

Meanwhile the sight of the smoke and sparks from the Windward quarter and the arrival of the fugitives who had managed to cross the mountains put the main body of the English into a terrible uproar. An attempt was made by the buccaneers under Morgan, and some planters led by Watts, to break through from Sandy Point into the French quarter of Capsterre, but they were held up by the brave defence of a house and pallisade. Here Morgan was killed and many of his buccaneers, while Watts too lost his life, and after a hard fight the attackers fell back in disorder. The next day, April 11th, though still more numerous than the French, they sent, on Col. Reymes' proposal, to ask for terms, and arranged with St Laurence, the new French commander, that the island should be surrendered on condition that all who cared could stay and take the oath of allegiance to the French King, while those who preferred might sell their plantations and leave the island<sup>1</sup>.

The loss of St Christopher by the English is a shameful story, for despite their numbers they were defeated in a single day by the energy and good leadership of the French. On the English side there was no love lost between the buccaneers and the planters, and the latter fought but poorly. Watts' behaviour is the subject of many stories; he is said to have been so cowardly that Morgan had to force him into action, by threatening him with a pistol. The story grew quickly and in England it was soon reported that Watts was shot by his own sergeant, and that the French had put all the English to the sword<sup>2</sup>.

From St Christopher there now took place an exodus of some 8000 English inhabitants<sup>3</sup>: they were deported by the French as quickly as possible, and fled to Virginia, to Jamaica and to Nevis, where the arrival of 1500 refugees turned the island into a regular hospital, for the French were careful to ship only non-combatants to that island<sup>4</sup>. To strengthen themselves at St Christopher against the certain attempt of Lord

<sup>1</sup> See Note C at end of chapter. Negroes were not to be taken from the island.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1235, 1238, 1254.

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 62. Wheeler later estimated them at 5000. *C.S.P.*, III, 977.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 63; *C.S.P.*, II, 1212 (letter of Fr. Sampson from Nevis, 6. 6. 66).

Willoughby to retake the island de Clodoré sent reinforcement from Martinique, and du Lion from Guadeloupe, while the West India Company's agent, de Chambré, arranged for all the French inhabitants to leave St Martin's and St Bartholomew and move to St Christopher. Their place at St Bartholomew was taken by the Irish from the captured island. The energetic governor of Martinique, de Clodoré, was anxious to carry the war into the enemy's lands, and proposed the capture of Nevis, but at a Council it was decided to await the arrival of the reinforcing fleet under de la Barre, which was known to be on its way: only minor enterprises were undertaken such as raids on Anguilla and Pomeroun, while the Indians were encouraged to raid Antigua<sup>1</sup>. Thus when Henry Willoughby's force, consisting of 30 pressed merchantmen and 600 militia, arrived at the Leeward Islands they found St Christopher in the hands of their enemies, and Henry Willoughby was forced to land his men on Nevis and Antigua, and allow the ships to continue their voyage home<sup>2</sup>.

The news of the happenings in the Leeward Islands determined Lord Willoughby to go there himself, but when there arrived on June 24th the long-looked-for squadron of two frigates with the somewhat belated news that war was declared and that the French were to be expelled from St Christopher, the task was very different from what had been contemplated when the letter was drafted. Lord Willoughby was not a man to stick at trifles, and though his commission did not give him the legal power, he quickly impressed ships and men to fill them, and with the help of a loan equipped his little fleet<sup>3</sup>. Disregarding the lateness of the season, he set sail on 18th July with a Barbados militia regiment of 1000 men and 2000 stand of spare arms for volunteers in the Leeward Islands. Off Guadeloupe, however, the little fleet was caught in a hurricane and broken up; the crew of two ships who had just captured a French merchantman off the Saints were saved on those islands,

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 53-59, 65-81; *C.S.P.*, II, 1224 (letters from Antigua, 29 and 30 June, 1666).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1273 (Henry Willoughby—Williamson, 28. 8. 66).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1244 (Willoughby—King, 15. 7. 66); 1245 (Willoughby—Arlington, same date).

and all the Leeward Islands were strewn with wreckage. Lord Francis Willoughby was never heard of again, and though part of his ship was washed ashore at Montserrat, yet for a long time hopes were cherished that he had been blown far to leeward and might come back again<sup>1</sup>. Thus perished a great governor who, after a long struggle, had established his government in the Caribbees, and had tried, with but little support from home, to uphold the English interest against the enemy; and with him perished the great effort of the Barbados planters to defeat the French with their own resources.

The loss of Lord Willoughby and his fleet gave the French the command of the sea: it was soon recognised at the Barbados that nothing could be done without help from home, and though William Willoughby, the acting governor, attempted to organise an expedition it fell through<sup>2</sup>. The French power was increased by the arrival of de la Barre<sup>3</sup>, who had previously commanded the fleet that brought de Tracy to the West Indies in 1664, but the reinforcement was not as strong as intended for he had detached several of his ships to Cayenne. An addition of four Dutch merchantmen gave de la Barre a good-sized fleet, and despite quarrels with de Clodoré and du Lion he managed with their help to isolate Nevis still more completely. At the end of October, with the help of Indians, he forced the inhabitants of Antigua to sign a capitulation, but when he returned a little later, the English, encouraged by a new governor, refused to comply, and the island was systematically ravaged<sup>4</sup>. Directly afterwards the same fate befel Montserrat, some of the fugitives escaping as far as Jamaica with little more than their shirts<sup>5</sup>. The loss of these islands cut off almost all communication between

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, iv, 93-102; *C.S.P.*, II, 1258, 1273. His successor's commission contained a proviso in his favour if alive, *C.S.P.*, II, 1372.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1281, 1285, 1286, 1347 (letters from W. Willoughby, 29 and 30 Sept, and 8 December, 1666).

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, iv, 121-132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 141-164, 173-194; *C.S.P.*, II, 1347, 1390. Board of Trade C.O. 103 is an account of the capture of Antigua recently deposited in the Public Record Office by the Society of Friends. It is reprinted in *Caribbeana*, II, 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 195-306; *C.S.P.*, II, 1347, 1456 (Modyford—Arlington, 4. 4. 67).



Nevis and Barbados and the former island with its crowd of refugees came very near to starvation.

The French and English governments now both set themselves to prepare reinforcements, but the French fleet was never sent, its sailing was delayed and finally cancelled owing to the approach of peace<sup>1</sup>: the English expedition, however, did arrive in the West Indies, and completely changed the balance of power there. When William Willoughby's letter reached home at the end of November<sup>2</sup>, the usually dilatory government acted with unwonted energy, and within five days it was answered with a temporary commission<sup>3</sup>, vesting the government in the hands of a triumvirate consisting of Hawley, an ex-governor, Barwick, who had served in the King's army, and Henry or William Willoughby<sup>4</sup>. The more vital question of a successor for Lord Willoughby did not take much longer to decide. His only brother, now William Lord Willoughby, claimed and was accorded the office of royal governor for the three years which his brother's patent had still to run<sup>5</sup>. The man who was thus appointed was a somewhat intimate friend of the King<sup>6</sup>, but a man of worth and courage, ever ready to report exactly what he thought best for the islands under his command, to denounce the Acts of Trade where they seemed oppressive and even to cast violent abuse on those who had encouraged at home what he saw to be a fatal policy in the Caribbees.

It was determined to send out a strong expedition with the new governor, and not merely the arms and ammunition which had been asked. The planters had shown up poorly in the attack on St Christopher and they needed some stiffening of soldiers if they were to be successful against the French, so early in 1667 Sir Tobias Bridge, one of Cromwell's Major-Generals who had till lately commanded at Tangier, was given command of a regiment of foot just raised for service in the

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 300.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., II, 1281, dated 29. 9. 66, received 30th Nov., answered 5th Dec.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1344 (commission 5. 12. 66).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1283 ("Who in Barbados from Col. Willoughby").

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1341 (Willoughby's petition); 1372 (commission, 3. 1. 67). For a petition of the Leeward Islands for a separate government, see chapter III.

<sup>6</sup> See his letters, *passim*, especially C.S.P., II, 1439.

West Indies<sup>1</sup>. On the 11th of March, 1667, Willoughby set sail from Portsmouth. He carried with him his commission as governor, the Duke of York's commission to him as vice-admiral and the long-asked-for powers to press ships for the King's service<sup>2</sup>; besides these he had the more comforting support of two frigates as his convoy, with six more a few days behind commanded by a good sailor, Sir John Harman, and a regiment of 800 men embarked on merchant ships and led by an old and gallant soldier of long service and tried worth.

While these preparations were being made, the enemy gained still further successes in the West Indies. With the help of the Dutch they made a joint attack on Statia, and despite the gallant defence put up by the buccaneers, captured the island. A dispute immediately arose over the question of possession, and the Dutch were furious to see the French colours flying over the fort, and to realise they had merely helped a dangerous ally to capture what had recently belonged to themselves<sup>3</sup>. This was a ray of hope for the English, and they needed it, for to southward a small party of French from Grenada succeeded in capturing Tobago by a clever ruse, while a Dutch fleet under de Crynsens captured Surinam and then joined the French at Martinique<sup>4</sup>.

All now depended on which side first received help from home, and it was none too soon when early in February 1667, there arrived at Barbados a merchant fleet convoyed by four frigates, and bringing the new commission for the temporary government there<sup>5</sup>. Orders from the Duke of York directed that these ships were to be used against the Leeward Islands, or one was to be sent to the help of Modyford in Jamaica, but

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1396-8, 1429, 1438, 1496; H.M.C. 'Heathcote', 156-7; *Pepys' Diary*, 31. 10. 64 (for Albemarle's high opinion of Bridge); *Burton's Diary*, I. 331, dated 8. 1. 56/7 (Bridge's humble origin); Ludlow, *Memoirs*, p. 307; H.M.C. 'Portland', III, 238 (Bridge at Dunkirk, 1660); *C.S.P.*, I, p. 9 (Bridge, a commissioner for affairs of America, 1652); p. 445 (Bridge, on committee for Jamaica and West Indies, 1656).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1389 (Duke's commission); 1424 (warrant to press shipping).

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 168-170; *C.S.P.*, II, 1401.

<sup>4</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 165-167, 240; *C.S.P.*, II, 1421 (narrative of the taking of Surinam).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1433-4 (letter from Barbados, 2. 3. 67).

all were soon to return as convoys to a merchant fleet<sup>1</sup>. An Assembly was summoned which generously raised 1,000,000 lbs. of sugar for the expedition in return for a confirmation of their privileges and laws<sup>2</sup>. The expedition consisted of the four frigates and four pressed merchantmen and was commanded by Capt. Berry, an expert seaman, and a daring, bold commander<sup>3</sup>. Henry Willoughby who had returned from Nevis wished to take command, but it was not deemed wise to supersede Berry who had been appointed by the Duke of York<sup>4</sup>. This expedition under Berry, although it did not achieve any startling results, was able to do good work. Several enemy merchantmen were captured or destroyed, including a squadron of Dutch ships in Guadeloupe harbour, and the French on St Christopher were blockaded from Nevis. De la Barre, who happened to be at St Christopher, had endeavoured to intercept the fleet before it reached Barbados, and now managed to escape from his island to Martinique where he gathered a big fleet of fifteen French ships and the four Dutchmen under de Crynsens, and set out to destroy Berry's smaller squadron. Owing, however, to bad leadership on de la Barre's part the action was indecisive, and the French fleet lost the weather gauge and merely succeeded in slipping through to St Christopher, where the Dutch left them in disgust to go on to New England<sup>5</sup>.

Berry's squadron had re-settled Antigua and Montserrat and it is hardly too much to say that this expedition saved Nevis for the English<sup>6</sup>.

The English had now regained the command of the seas in the West Indies, and with William Lord Willoughby's arrival at the Barbados on April 23rd, 1667, that command was still more firmly established. He found the island very discontented

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1437 (letter read to Council of Barbados, 6. 3. 67).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Minutes of meeting of Barbados Council and Assembly. The previous assemblies had quarrelled with Lord Willoughby over the control of expenditure and the militia.

<sup>3</sup> Sloane 3662, 56 (Scott's account).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1444 (Minutes Council of Barbados, 13. 3. 67).

<sup>5</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 218-260; *C.S.P.*, II, 1446, 1477, 1484, 1488 (Willoughby—Arlington, 25. 5. 67).

<sup>6</sup> Sloane 3662, fo. 56; *C.S.P.*, II, 1477 (Willoughby—Arlington), speaks of a plan for concentrating the inhabitants of Antigua at Nevis.

with the triumvirate, but his strong hand and indisputable authority quickly settled matters<sup>1</sup>. Being anxious not to lose time, Willoughby determined to attempt the recapture of St Christopher without waiting for the rest of his fleet, and accordingly sent two frigates, and half Bridge's regiment under the command of Lieut.-Col. Stapleton to the Leeward Islands. The whole expedition was under the command of Henry Willoughby, "and with the change of commanders the English changed the scene of their fortunes<sup>2</sup>."

The French on St Christopher were quite ready to meet the English attack: they had thrown up a number of fortifications, and the planters had been strengthened by some royal troops from Martinique. As, however, he had such a long coast line to defend, St Laurence was forced to distribute his men, but retained with himself a mobile force consisting of the rather inefficient cavalry of the island<sup>3</sup>. The English determined to make a landing on St Christopher under cover of darkness, but at the first attempt on the night of June 6th-7th, as the fleet was forced to sail without lights, the ships became separated, and finally anchored off Basseterre<sup>4</sup>. The attack was accordingly postponed till next day and it was arranged to weigh anchor at four in the morning when it would be a little lighter, but the French noticed the movement and all chance of a surprise was lost. The point chosen for the landing was a flat strand just south-east of Pelham's river in what had been formerly the English leeward quarter: this offered an easy landing place, but it was difficult to leave the beach. To right and left two rocky ravines led inland, the latter the bed of the Pelham river, while straight up the cliff ran a narrow little rift which hardly allowed more than one to ascend at a time<sup>5</sup>. The 'forlorn' was landed under Cottar, the reserve was commanded by Stapleton, while Henry Willoughby directed operations from a boat.

According to Major Scott, who commanded a company under Stapleton, a dispute at once arose between the English and

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1476-7 (Willoughby's letters; dated 7. 5. 67).

<sup>2</sup> Sloane 3662, 55 (Scott's account of Barbados).

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 263-4.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1524; du Tertre, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 266. There is a picture of the landing on p. 260.

Irish officers, the former wishing to follow Willoughby's guide, while Stapleton and his men pushed straight up the narrow rift<sup>1</sup>. The actual landing had taken place with hardly any casualties as there were no men at this spot, but St Laurence and six comrades galloped up in the nick of time, and succeeded in repelling Stapleton and his party, though not without a heroic struggle for the English colour<sup>2</sup>.

I was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner (wrote Stapleton, in 1680), after 7 hours dispute ascending a cliff at the descent ill-managed upon St Christopher where if I may modestly speak it, I was no ways backward in imitating Anthonius Primus, but in not beating the French as he did 4 legions of the Empire and in not running my ensign through who dropped my colour (and went woundless abroad) which I took up by the half-pique and darted at M. the Chev. St Laurence, it was broke and shot in my hands but I snatched the silk from him that was to seize upon it<sup>3</sup>.

More French troops quickly arrived, and after the first few moments there was little doubt of the result of the conflict. The attackers, huddled together on the beach beneath a shower of boulders from above, made an attempt to force their way up Pelham ravine, but were quickly repulsed, and an attempt to work up a gully to the right was soon stopped<sup>4</sup>. After some six hours' fighting their position seemed impossible, and they surrendered to the French, though Scott and others were taken off by the gallant conduct of the boats<sup>5</sup>. Among the prisoners were almost all the officers of Bridge's regiment who had taken part in the landing, and all were wounded. Stapleton, Cottar and other Irish officers soon fraternised with their captors, and gave great offence to their English fellow-prisoners, who could not understand the outlook of such a soldier of fortune as Stapleton had been<sup>6</sup>. "Il faut dire icy que tous ces braves

<sup>1</sup> Scott's relation. *C.S.P.*, II, 1524.

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 266-7 emphasises the smallness of St Laurence's party which foiled this first attempt.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, VI, 1557 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 10. 80). This incident is also recorded by du Tertre, IV, 266-7.

<sup>4</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 267-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 270-1, contrast with Scott's account of the surrender. *C.S.P.*, II, 1524.

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1531 (Scott to Williamson, 16. 7. 67).

officiers Anglois ont cette gloire dans leur malheurs, qu'ils se sont batus en gens d'honneur et de cœur," is the verdict of the French historian<sup>1</sup>.

Shortly after the failure of this attack, Sir John Harman with the rest of the frigates arrived at Nevis<sup>2</sup>. It had already been decided not to attempt St Christopher again but to flesh Bridge's recruits on some less protected island such as Martinique. While details of this expedition were being worked out at Nevis, news arrived there that the French fleet was at Martinique and Harman determined at once to attempt its destruction<sup>3</sup>. Owing to disagreements between the French commanders, the fleet was lying in the open road of St Pierre under the guns of the fort, instead of in the Cul de Sac Royal which had but recently been specially fortified and protected by a boom<sup>4</sup>. Though delayed by calms, Harman at last reached Martinique, and in an action lasting several days managed to put the enemy's fleet out of action, firing some and sinking others. The French were surprised that he did not stand right in to complete the destruction and claimed that with the help of stores recently arrived from Holland they were able to refit most of their ships<sup>5</sup>.

From Martinique Harman had written to Willoughby that if he was to attempt any of the enemy's islands he wanted the personal help of Sir Tobias Bridge<sup>6</sup>, and that officer was immediately despatched to Nevis where he arrived on July 9th<sup>7</sup>. Major Scott was promptly sent to St Laurence to offer an exchange of prisoners, but really to estimate the enemy's forces: his behaviour was such that the French governor threatened to throw him into the sea<sup>8</sup>. On his return he reported that

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 273. See Note D at end of chapter on the different accounts of this attack.

<sup>2</sup> Harman reached Barbados on 9th July, left on 10th, and was at Nevis on 13th. *C.S.P.*, II, 1517 (Harman—Willoughby, 30. 6. 67).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1516, 1517.

<sup>4</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 224, 260, 299. The name of this land-locked harbour was often twisted by English tongues into "Woolsack." It is now Fort Royal Bay (Fort de France Bay).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 275, 299; *C.S.P.*, II, 1516 (Herman—Gov. Martinique, 29. 6. 67); 1517 (Harman—Willoughby, 30. 6. 67).

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1517.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1529 (Bridge—Willoughby, 13. 7. 67).

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1521, 1529; cf. du Tertre, IV, 303.

the French had some 2000 men in pay as well as 2500 planters.

And yet the Lieut-General unless Sir Tobias Bridge and the gravity of some other accustomed to a more methodical way of fighting more for profit than for danger doth divert, will in a few days make another attempt upon St Christopher, where if we once get a footing (God assenting) by making us unanimous we need not doubt being masters of that island<sup>1</sup>.

The gravity of the more methodical party prevailed and it was decided that as Scott's evidence was not sufficiently reliable, Harman should "larum" St Christopher, landing small parties of men in an attempt to seize prisoners and burn the shallops<sup>2</sup>. This somewhat useless display of force merely served to put the French upon their guard, and as St Laurence with a picked body of cavalry kept pace with the fleet along the shore, no attempt was made by a landing party<sup>3</sup>.

The season was now getting late, and, after a severe storm in the middle of July, it was hastily determined to send the fleet to safer waters. Lord Willoughby, who was very sore at the loss of his colony, had previously suggested to Harman that he should attempt to regain Surinam<sup>4</sup>, so on July 27th the fleet under Harman and Henry Willoughby left Nevis and, calling at Barbados for guides, stood south on this enterprise. They took Cayenne from the French with unexpected ease, though at Surinam the Dutch put up a better fight, and it was only after a sharp struggle that the attackers were successful<sup>5</sup>. Leaving a small garrison there, the expedition returned to Barbados in November only to find that peace had been made, and on such terms that their latest conquest had to be returned to the Dutch<sup>6</sup>. The end of the war meant the recall of the fleet; and in accordance with instructions Sir John Harman laded his men-of-war with merchants' goods, that the King might make something by their freight, and leaving a small squadron

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1524 ("Major Scott's relation").

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1521 (Gov. Russell—Lord Willoughby, 10. 7. 67); 1529, 1530 (Henry Willoughby—Lord Willoughby, 14. 7. 67).

<sup>3</sup> *Du Tertre*, IV, 301–305.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1517.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1540 (narrative of taking of Cayenne and Surinam).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1623 (Lord Willoughby—Arlington, 26. 11. 67).

at Barbados, sailed for home<sup>1</sup>. Sir Tobias Bridge, however, was left with his regiment as a permanent garrison in the West Indies, partly as a safeguard for the King's interests there, but largely because there was no money with which to discharge their arrears and pay them off.

The effects of the war were disastrous for all concerned in the West Indies. The Leeward Islands were stripped bare and had to start anew. Antigua had been ravaged, and all its plantations burnt, and Montserrat was much the same, while Nevis, overcrowded as it had been with refugees and soldiers long sought in vain to recover the public debts incurred under Henry Willoughby's orders<sup>2</sup>. Owing to the difficulty of trade and the lack of supplies from New England there was a continual threat of famine among the garrison, and things grew so desperate towards the end of the war that at a special meeting of the Council two ships from Hamburg were allowed to trade with the island, despite the Navigation Acts<sup>3</sup>. Barbados itself had not felt the war so acutely, but the planters there had been constrained to make constant efforts to assist the Leeward Islands, and many of their number had perished in the hurricane with Francis Lord Willoughby<sup>4</sup>.

The Dutch suffered least, as they had less to lose: it is true that at the end of the war they had hardly a single port left them in the West Indies, and both Berry and Harman had captured their ships, but their trade still continued, for during the war the French were forced to allow them a freedom of trade with the Company's islands. The French, however, were as hard hit as the English, for despite their early success the lack of supplies due to the failure of the West India Company to supply sufficient goods as promised under their monopoly led to a serious revolt in Martinique, while after the English

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1573, 1648, 1640 (Willoughby—Arlington, 2. 12. 67). Willoughby and Harman had to pawn themselves to their very shirts to victual the fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 461, 492.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1631 (Minutes Council and Assembly, Nevis, 21. 11. 67).

<sup>4</sup> Sloane 3662, fo. 56 (Scott's account of Barbados). Scott states that between April 1666 and August 1667, Barbados sent supplies of food and ammunition to the value of £40,000 sterling. For New England's financial help to Lord Willoughby, see *C.S.P.*, II, 1648.



regained the command of the seas, there was a scarcity of food in all the islands<sup>1</sup>. St Christopher suffered most, for after the arrival of Berry it was strictly blockaded, and the planters were only saved from starvation by the energy of de la Barre and de Clodoré who managed to smuggle goods from Martinique. Even at Martinique there was a serious shortage which was only relieved by the unexpected arrival of a squadron of six food ships in July 1667<sup>2</sup>.

The more serious results of the war for the French were seen in the damage done to the West India Company's finances: this Company had striven hard for neutrality without success, and the war meant its practical bankruptcy. The damage done to trade, the actual loss of ships belonging to the Company, and the great expenditure needed for equipping fleets and sending out stores so ruined its finances, that its whole activities had to be altered, and shortly afterwards it was dissolved<sup>3</sup>.

The worst legacy of the war was the bitter feeling of hatred between French and English.

La haine est telle entre ces deux Nations, & ils sont si animez l'une contre l'autre & particulièrement la Nation Angloise qui est altière & orgueilleuse naturellement, & qui ayant toujours esté batuë des François dans saint Christophle, ne pourra jamais estre contente qu'elle ne se soit vengée d'une façon ou d'une autre<sup>4</sup>.

## NOTE A

### THE TREATY OF 1662

Du Tertre, III, pp. 277-9 gives a copy of a treaty between de Sales and Watts in similar terms to this treaty of 1662, but says that it was signed in 1660, though in the text of the treaty he dates it 1666. The latter date is obviously too late, as de Sales is described as acting by authority of the Knights of Malta, and their authority over St Christopher ceased in 1665 with the coming of the West India Company. Again, 1660 is too early, as Watts was still in England: it thus seems certain that this is the treaty of 1662 but misdated.

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 82-89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 298-301.

<sup>3</sup> See Mims, cap. v-vi. 'The Company's affairs were put into liquidation in 1672, and it was finally dissolved in 1674.

<sup>4</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 355. Protest of the French at St Christopher against its return to the English.

## NOTE B

THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AT  
ST CHRISTOPHER

This is du Tertre's account (iv, 15-16), and it agrees in general with English accounts, though they mistake the object of the French embassy (*C.S.P.*, II, 1179, 1217, 1230). Egerton 2395, fo. 459, blames the French for starting the fight. The only copy of the concordat of 1666 is contained in du Tertre, and according to its terms Watts was certainly guilty of breaking his agreement in preparing to attack the French, as he had only received the general declaration of war, and not the specific order from the King which was there stipulated—Egerton 2395, fo. 348 (Du Blanc's instructions), refers to this concordat as signed in St Christopher on the 26th January 1666 (French style).

## NOTE C

THE VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE FRENCH CAPTURE  
OF ST CHRISTOPHER

Du Tertre, iv, 1-52, gives a vivid and detailed account of the whole action, illustrated with three pictures of the fights at Cayonne, Cinq Combles (St Nicholas Church), and Sandy Point. He regards Watts as a dishonest man and repeats the story of his cowardice. None of the English accounts are as clear as that of du Tertre, and they differ in their description of Watts' behaviour. Most of the accounts by Leeward planters blacken Watts' character: Francis Sampson, the secretary of Nevis (*C.S.P.*, II, 1212), and Warner of Antigua (*ib.* 1220) repeat the same story; Smith, a Nevis planter, blames both Watts' "forwardness" in attacking without special orders from the King or Willoughby, and Col. Reymes' treachery (*ib.* 1214). The only English accounts which exonerate the governor are those of his widow (*ib.* 1206), and of Lord Willoughby who had just heard her story (*ib.* 1204-1205). Three things are certain; there was a violent quarrel between Morgan the buccaneer and Watts though it is not proved that the latter acted in a cowardly way, the St Christopher planters fought but poorly and were many of them very ready for an accommodation with the French, while it galled the men of Nevis to think that their contingent was kept stationed opposite the French quarter of Basseterre, when their help might have turned the scale. All the English accounts vary

in their explanation of Watts' preliminary negotiations with the French, the only logical account is that of du Tertre, although it pictures Watts as a perjured man who deliberately disregarded the agreement he had so recently signed.

## NOTE D

### THE ACCOUNTS OF THE ATTEMPT TO RETAKE ST CHRISTOPHER

There are three important accounts of the landing on St Christopher. Henry Willoughby's letter to his father (*C.S.P.*, II, 1498), Major Scott's "relation" to Williamson (*C.S.P.*, II, 1524), and du Tertre's account (IV, 260-273). Major Scott was a brilliant rogue, with a ready tongue and a clever pencil. He had insinuated himself into Williamson's good graces, but after embezzling money from a friend in Long Island he fled to Barbados, and was there received as an important man. He later distinguished himself by his attack on Pepys during the Popish Plot, and after a varied career of knavery fled to Sweden (G. D. Scull, *Dorothea Scott*, privately printed at Oxford, 1883, gives an account of Scott based on the "Mornomont" volumes in the Pepysian Library). Scott's veracity as a historian of early Guiana has been emphasised by G. Edmundson (*E.H.R.*, XVI, p. 640 *et seq.*), but his account of the fight at St Christopher is very confused and marked by a violent dislike of the Irish. He declares the Irish officers refused to follow Willoughby's guides, and charges the Irish troops with surrendering prematurely; "the Irish ... attempted a gully, and after some slight wounds, were taken, I will not say surrendered to the French, but their soldiers of the same nation by a general shout surrendered themselves to the enemy." Both du Tertre, and Stapleton in his later reminiscences state that the fight lasted for some six hours. Neither du Tertre nor Henry Willoughby make any mention of this quarrel between English and Irish. It seems obvious that Scott wished to shield himself from censure and did his best to throw the blame on those who could not answer his accusations. The explanation is provided by a document preserved by Pepys who collected all the material he could find which dealt with the early life of his persecutor (Rawl. MSS., "A" 175, 149-157). This is the record of a court-martial held at Nevis on 4th January, 1668, when Scott was tried in his absence on various charges of cowardice, and found guilty. Among other charges he was accused as follows: "Business of St Christopher's where hee had command of a Foot-Company in Coll. Sr Tobias Bridge

Regiment after they landed with Lieut.-Coll. Stapleton when they were all engaged w<sup>h</sup> ye Enemyes did leave his said Company after that hee had sculked under a Rock in time of Service ran away and strip'd himselfe and so gott on Ship-Board to ye great Disheartening of not onely his owne Company, but all ye reste of ye offrs and Sould<sup>rs</sup> then and there w<sup>h</sup> him, pretending that he was wounded when never anything of that nature appeared, to the great Dishono<sup>r</sup> of our King, Country and Regiment." This document sufficiently explains Scott's motive for writing his own story.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RESTORATION OF ST CHRISTOPHER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT FOR THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

That the Most Christian King shall with all speed, or at furthest within six months, to be reckoned from the day of subscribing this present agreement, restore unto the King of Great Britain, or unto such as to that purpose shall receive his commands, duly passed under the Great Seal of England that part of the Isle of St Christopher's which the English possessed the 1st of January, 1665, before the declaration of the late war: And to that end the said Most Christian King shall, immediately upon the ratification of this same agreement, deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto the said King of Great Britain, or such ministers of his as shall be thereunto appointed all necessary instruments and orders duly dispatched.

Treaty of Breda, Art. VII.

THE Treaty of Breda ordered definitely the restoration of St Christopher, and thus the English were to get by the peace what they had failed to get by war, but the actual restoration was to prove no easy matter. Masters of diplomacy as were the French, they were able to outwit the English statesmen not only in the drafting of agreements, but in the casuistry with which they interpreted doubtful clauses and raised new matters for decision and so put off the evil day: it is no wonder that a planter exiled from St Christopher complained that the French made the scale weigh heavy, being too hard for us in treaties<sup>1</sup>. The fault, however, was not entirely on the French side, for the keen commercial rivalry between Barbados and the Leeward Islands expressed itself in the constant intrigue of the Barbados planters to delay the restoration of the island.

When in October 1667 the news of peace reached de la Barre from the West India Company he arranged an armistice with the governor of Nevis, and by allowing food from Martinique to be sold to the hungry garrison of Nevis, was tacitly allowed to supply the wants of the French at St Christopher<sup>2</sup>. Shortly

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 325-329; *C.S.P.*, II, 1631.

afterwards Lord Willoughby, who had just received the news, arrived in the Leeward Islands on a voyage of inspection and at St Christopher met de la Barre and arranged for the release of prisoners. With elaborate courtesy the two governors dined together and parted with mutual compliments, but de la Barre's attempt to exclude Indian Warner from the terms of treaty led to friction: Willoughby sent Stapleton to demand his release, and though the French governor agreed to this on Stapleton's promise that he should no longer live among the Indians, Willoughby immediately reinstated him as governor of Dominica<sup>1</sup>. The real clash was to come with the demand for the restoration of St Christopher: the French inhabitants who had gained it by their valour and the courage of their governor, objected strongly to the terms of the peace. They pointed out that there were settled in the English quarter men who had gained their freedom through their bravery in the fight, and had been rewarded by grants of plantations: there were also the emigrants from St Martin's and St Bartholomew who would be ruined if forced to surrender their holdings. Even when the purchase price was repaid, as stipulated in the treaty, the outgoing tenant would be a heavy loser, as he had spent vast sums in improvements after the destruction caused by the fight and by the subsequent hurricane. It was quite impossible, they declared, for the two nations to live at peace on the one island<sup>2</sup>.

While both Willoughby and de la Barre were waiting for definite orders to carry out the treaty, the French ambassador Ruvigny was negotiating with Arlington about the details of the Treaty of Breda: various instruments were drawn but proved unacceptable, and the question was raised whether a formal restoration by the French of the islands of Antigua and Montserrat was necessary<sup>3</sup>. Rumours were already in the air of negotiations for the French to retain the whole of St Christopher, and compensate the English by money or territory elsewhere<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 328, 334-5; *C.S.P.*, II, 1663 (Willoughby—Arlington, 4. 1. 68).

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 354-362 (protest of the inhabitants of St Christopher against the return of the island), and 328-9.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1591-5, 1606-9.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1663 (Willoughby—Arlington, 4. 1. 68).

The exiled planters petitioned that so old and loyal a colony might not remain in the hands of an enemy, where it would be of the greatest danger to the rest of the islands. They mentioned, too, for the first time, a practical question which was destined long to delay the restitution of the island, to ruin the career of Sir Charles Wheler, and to cause friction and complications between the French and English for years to come. They declared that the French who had bought the plantations from the defeated English had dilapidated them and yet by claims for improvement demanded such immense sums that a re-settlement would be effectively prevented<sup>1</sup>. Willoughby gave it as his opinion that an exchange might be profitable to the English,

If Mons<sup>r</sup> be well handled, they may part with what is much more considerable because they are fond of it, and truly in the condition they have and will have it I am at a stand what to do with it, yet if their's nothing but peace can preserve Nevis<sup>2</sup>.

The exchange might be made for Grenada, with advantage to the English<sup>3</sup>. Willoughby's interest in Antigua where he owned a plantation was later thrown in his face and used as an explanation of his readiness to part with St Christopher<sup>4</sup>.

The negotiations at home had been brought to an issue, and on 26th April, 1668, the long-expected orders reached Lord Willoughby at Montserrat while he was on a second cruise among the Leeward Islands<sup>5</sup>. Sailing direct to Nevis he spent five days with the "trifling governor" of St Christopher, but could not persuade him to hand over the island in the absence of de la Barre, to whom the formal orders were addressed. De Chambré, the Company's agent, declared that he had no power to act on the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1629. Clement Everard, the ex-Cromwellian governor, is one of the signatories.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1663 (Willoughby—Arlington, 4. 1. 68).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1692 (Willoughby—King, 11. 2. 68).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 131 (Wm Freeman—Col. Gamiel, 19. 12. 69).

<sup>5</sup> These instruments included: a letter from French king to St Laurence (du Tertre, IV, 341); a similar letter to the Directors of the West India Company (*ib.* 342-3); a letter to de la Barre ordering him to hand over the island (*C.S.P.*, II, 1560, referred to but not reproduced by du Tertre); a formal act for the restitution (*C.S.P.*, II, 1606), and Willoughby's commission to receive the island (*C.S.P.*, II, 1697); cf. *C.S.P.*, II, 1704 and 1724.

letter to the West India Company as it was addressed to the directors of whom none were at present in the islands. A ship sent to Martinique to fetch de la Barre returned empty, and as Willoughby pressed for immediate possession, the French who had recently sent the royal troops home and disbanded the militia were seriously alarmed. St Laurence, however, remained firm, offering to allow Willoughby to land a guard to prevent spoliation of the disputed lands, and even promising that he would restore the island on certain conditions on his own authority if the Governor-in-Chief did not arrive within a few days. Willoughby was in a hurry and would not wait: he had to content himself with a vehement protest<sup>1</sup>, which was in Stapleton's presence handed to St Laurence, and, when he refused to take it, placed beside him on a chair<sup>2</sup>. The French afterwards alleged that all the trouble was due to Willoughby's haste, for de la Barre arrived shortly afterwards and was quite ready to hand over their island.

Meanwhile Willoughby, who had returned to Barbados, heard that the French who feared the terms of the treaty were stripping the English quarters bare, and accordingly sent Col. Drax to Martinique with a protest to de la Barre: the reply was quite unsatisfactory, for while it offered an immediate restoration of formal sovereignty to anyone Willoughby cared to send, the French governor insisted on the right of the French planters to move whatever they could<sup>3</sup>. A similar game of delay was being played at Surinam where Henry Willoughby refused the Dutch claim for restitution on the ground that he had no orders from home, thus earning for his father a very strong reproof<sup>4</sup>.

Willoughby's commission for receiving back St Christopher had named three Barbados planters as his colleagues. The choice of these men had been singularly unfortunate; the best, Hooper,

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, iv, 336-53; Sloane MSS. 1519, fo. 241-2; *C.S.P.*, II, 1743.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1724 (Willoughby—Williamson), 1737-8 (Willoughby—Arington, 27. 4. 68 and 2. 5. 68).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1764 (iii). He also claimed that re-entry to plantations must be preceded by payment for improvements.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1785 (King—Lord Willoughby, 8. 7. 68).



was dead, Morrice was a Quaker<sup>1</sup>, while the third, Col. Symon Lambert, was one of the keenest of the opposition party in Barbados, a man who intrigued against Willoughby and considered himself at least his equal now that he held this commission<sup>2</sup>. It was this man whom Willoughby now sent to claim possession, but Lambert not liking his mission, raised difficulties, demanding assistants, a ship, and expenses, until a peremptory order from Willoughby sent him off<sup>3</sup>. Lambert negotiated with de la Barre both at Guadeloupe and at St Christopher, but with the sole result that the French formulated their demands more clearly. They now claimed that even before the sovereignty was restored, the rest of the Articles of the Treaty of Breda should be carried out, and in particular the English should repay the price they had received for their plantations: they also claimed for the improvements effected by the French, though this was not mentioned in the treaty. This deliberate confusion of the question of general restoration by which the King of England should receive back the sovereignty of his part of the island, and thus be able to restore those English refugees who had never sold their land, with the other question of the particular re-entry of the individual English planters, who had sold their lands, upon the repayment of the purchase money, complicated the issue and protracted negotiations for some years. Lambert, on his part, offered that the French occupiers of purchased plantations should enjoy their lands pending negotiations in Europe, if only the sovereignty and the unsettled lands were handed over, and when this was refused the commissioners parted with a protest<sup>4</sup>. On Lambert's return to Barbados he had to face the wrath of Willoughby who declared that he had openly flouted his authority and power during the negotiations at St Christopher, and when Willoughby demanded the various papers concerning the negotiations, Lambert refused to hand them over declaring that he kept them for his own justification since he had promised to send them home to the King. It

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1737; cf. Winthrop Papers, pp. 264-5 (Massachusetts Historical Collections, Fifth series, vol. VII).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1804.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1764 (Willoughby—Arlington, 30. 5. 68).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1775 (Lambert—King, 28. 6. 68).

needed a taste of confinement aboard a frigate to bring him to his knees<sup>1</sup>. The failure of negotiations showed that Bridge's regiment was still needed in the West Indies<sup>2</sup>.

Affairs had now reached a deadlock and nothing more could be done until fresh orders were received from home. Here the news of Willoughby's failure to resume St Christopher arrived in June, and application was at once made to France for fresh orders to be sent to the West Indies<sup>3</sup>. These new orders were to be despatched by both governments, but the arrival at Paris of de la Barre's account of the negotiations put a different complexion on the whole matter, and the French government immediately countermanded their orders to de la Barre, at the same time begging the King of England not to despatch his copy of the orders for restitution before Colbert arrived with his proposals<sup>4</sup>. This last request, however, came too late; the orders had already been sent, and their arrival at Barbados brought about just those complications which the French government had feared<sup>5</sup>. The English government now decided to show that two could play at the game of delay, and as reports from France hinted at a scheme for mutual exchange, instructions were issued that Acadie should not be restored to the French until further orders were received<sup>6</sup>. The French ambassador, Colbert, formulated his proposals in writing on 11th September, suggesting alternatives, first that the Treaty of Breda be carried out to the letter, on the part of the French by the restitution of sovereignty, on the part of the English by payment for individual plantations and for improvements before re-entry, and by payment for the diet of prisoners of war, or else that the French should retain St Christopher and compensate the English<sup>7</sup>. After some consideration this suggestion was refused, the King

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1779 (Minutes Council of Barbados), 1801-4 (Willoughby's account, 21-22. 7. 68).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1801.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1777, 1778 (St Albans—Arlington, 1. 7. 68), 1779 (De Lionne—St Albans, same date).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1795 (St Albans—Arlington, 15. 7. 68).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1790, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1808 (28. 7. 68).

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1840 (11. 9. 68). Colbert claimed that this latter course had been recommended both by Willoughby and de la Barre and accepted by the King in Council.

could not enter into a new treaty while the old one was still unperformed, and a vehement demand was made that the French government should order immediate restitution<sup>1</sup>, the King declaring that of the French claims he was only bound by the treaty to see that his subjects paid for their plantations before re-entry, and that this had always been intended. A third set of orders, more stringent than before, were accordingly addressed to de la Barre, to de Baas the new Lieut.-General in the West Indies, and to St Laurence the governor of St Christopher, to make sure that there should be no excuse for procrastination<sup>2</sup>.

While these negotiations were in progress affairs took an amusing turn in the West Indies. The orders of 17th July, which had been countermanded by the French government, reached Willoughby on the 3rd October. He went to Antigua, and after holding a Council sent Col. Morley to demand the island, only to meet with a blank refusal from St Laurence who had received special orders to await the results of Colbert's negotiations in England. Once again the French and English parted with mutual recriminations<sup>3</sup>. Shortly afterwards Willoughby returned to England, whither he had long wished to go, to justify himself against the accusations of the Dutch in the matter of Surinam, and the imputations of the opposition faction at Barbados, but, quite disgusted with the whole business of St Christopher, he forgot or omitted to leave any instructions about the matter, either with his son Henry at Antigua, or with his deputy-governor, Christopher Codrington, at Barbados. Thus when the French King's emphatic orders of October arrived at the Leeward Islands, it was the English and not the French who created difficulties. M. de Baas sent to Barbados but could get no definite answer: he then appealed to Henry Willoughby at Antigua who replied that as no powers had been left him, he was sorry that he could not accept the offer of immediate restoration, but he was daily expecting orders from home now that Lord Willoughby had laid the whole matter before the King<sup>4</sup>. Thus was seen the strange sight of the English

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1844 (21. 9. 68).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1858 (21/31. 10. 68).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1900 (Dec. 1668, Willoughby's narrative).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 52 (de Baas—Henry Willoughby, 22 Ap./1 May), 56 (Henry Willoughby's reply, 27. 4. 69).

excusing themselves from accepting what they had been straining but a few weeks before to acquire.

During the negotiations in England many very delicate questions had been raised; at quite an early stage Ruvigny had explained that the French West India Company would have preferred the King to appoint commissioners to settle questions of improvements and repurchase, instead of issuing orders for the restitution of the island, but he declared that Louis trusted implicitly that the English governor would willingly set up such a commission<sup>1</sup>. When Colbert handed in the order for the restoration after the rejection of his offer to buy out the English claims to St Christopher, he handed with it a memorial dealing with the disputed questions and suggesting the appointment of commissioners in St Christopher to settle these troubles on the spot. After some negotiations the proposal was accepted, and it was agreed to refer to these commissioners the vexed questions of improvements, pay for prisoners' diet, and the details of actual repayment by returning planters, though the English King emphasised the fact that the liability for prisoners' food only extended to extra comforts and luxuries and must be paid for by the individual concerned. A year and a day from the presentation of the French King's orders for restitution was allowed for the return of planters, after that the French were to hold their purchased plantations undisturbed, and might live on them if they took the oath of allegiance<sup>2</sup>. Colbert, on the motion of the West India Company, protested in vain against the length of time allowed<sup>3</sup>, but it was fully realised at home that the English were put to a great disadvantage by the agreement that payment must precede re-entry, for the exiles were poor and very scattered<sup>4</sup>. Some attempt had been made in England to juggle with the word "bona," and to interpret it as referring to moveables only, but it was decided that the actual plantations had to be repurchased<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1882. This cannot be later than June, 1668.

<sup>2</sup> The French memorial of Oct. 21/31 is missing: the English answer is in *C.S.P.*, II, 1886-1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 4 (13. 1. 69).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Dr L. Jenkins' report that "bona" only means moveables (*C.S.P.*, II, 1883, Dec. 68), with the subsequent instructions to the com-

As the last attempt to regain the island had failed so absurdly it was determined that the commissioners should also have authority to demand and receive back the sovereignty of St Christopher. Powers were therefore drafted to this effect<sup>1</sup>, but the influence of "subtle Mr Gorges" and others of the merchants of Barbados who were opposed to the resettling of the island, must have been very great just then, since four of the five commissioners were famous as Willoughby's opponents in Barbados. Philip Payne, the sole representative of the Leeward Islands, had interests in St Christopher, and was a member of the Council of Nevis<sup>2</sup>: of the others, Willoughby accused Yeamans of playing the part of David with the wife of Uriah the Hittite, Barwicke of declaring in open council that he would not lend the King a farthing if he could help it, Col. Bell of being a traitor who continually repeated Council secrets for the good of the faction, while Col. Sharpe was but another leader of the clique<sup>3</sup>.

Such were the men, according to Willoughby, to whom the new commission was addressed, and their deliberate neglect of their instructions seems to justify some of Willoughby's accusations. Since St Christopher had begun to grow sugar the Barbados planters had become more and more jealous of its competition; it seemed to them a good chance now that St Christopher was wasted and in French hands to leave it there. At the bottom of the opposition to Willoughby in Barbados lay hatred of his policy of expansion, which might raise competitors in the sugar trade or draw off too many of their inhabitants<sup>4</sup>. This feeling helps to explain Lambert's former unwillingness to stir a finger for St Christopher. Now the new commissioners contented themselves with raising difficulties, demanding transport from Codrington who declared that he had no power to press shipping, with sending a formal

missioners (*C.S.P.*, III, 39), where "bona" is expressly stated to cover plantations, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 33-39 (commissions and instructions), 65 (Arlington—Yeamans, 19. 5. 69), 66 and 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1629, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1804 (Willoughby's denunciations of the Barbados opposition).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1819 (Willoughby—King, 11. 8. 68).

letter to de la Barre<sup>1</sup>, and then reporting that it was impossible to carry out their task in the absence of transport<sup>2</sup>. The insincerity of this plea is shown by the ease with which Sir John Yeamans immediately found time and ships to carry him to Surinam and Jamaica on business of his own: at Nevis it was perfectly realised that the whole thing was a farce and discredit was thrown on the sincerity of Willoughby's earlier efforts<sup>3</sup>.

The newly formed Council for Foreign Plantations realised the state of affairs when a petition was handed in from planters and merchants in the Leeward Islands explaining the uselessness of appointing commissioners from Barbados if St Christopher was ever to be recovered. The Council promptly reported in favour of a commission which should include six Leeward planters and Sir Tobias Bridge, with Sir John Yeamans as the sole representative of the Barbados<sup>4</sup>. Events were now moving quickly, the long delay and the insincere behaviour of the Barbados commissioners brought to a head the movement for the separation of the Leeward Islands under an independent governor. It was now proposed to empower Sir Thomas Lynch, who was soon to start for the West Indies as governor of Jamaica, to demand and receive St Christopher<sup>5</sup>, but the Leeward Islanders had now got the ear of the Council. The step was quickly taken of establishing the Leeward Islands as a separate government under Sir Charles Wheler, and to him fell the task of concluding the negotiations.

From the first settlement of St Christopher by Sir Thomas Warner until the arrival of Francis Lord Willoughby at Barbados in 1663 the Leeward Islands had enjoyed a practical independence. Warner styled himself<sup>6</sup> "Commander General of the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 108-109 (16. 9. 69).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 115 (Commissioners—Trevor, 2. 10. 69).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 131, 126. Yeamans actually touched at Nevis en route to Jamaica.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 232 (20. 8. 70).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 287 (5. 10. 70). Egerton 2395, fo. 470 (Willoughby's letters, 24. 9. 70).

<sup>6</sup> Patent by Warner in 1627, reprinted in *Caribbeana*, III, 320. Warner received commissions from the King, 13. 9. 25; from Carlisle, 29. 9. 29; and from Parliament, 24. 11. 42 (*C.S.P.*, I, pp. 75, 101, 324).

Province of Carlisle," and after the attempt to establish the Carlisle interest in Barbados in 1628<sup>1</sup> exercised no further authority over that island despite his title. Willoughby's brief authority in Barbados as Lieut.-General of Lord Carlisle was hardly felt in the Leeward Islands, for though he sent commissions to royalist governors of Antigua and Montserrat, the other islands refused to receive them<sup>2</sup>, while after the success of Ayscue's expedition and the establishment of Parliamentary authority in Barbados, the northern islands were practically independent, trading very largely with the Dutch. It will thus be seen that Willoughby's second arrival in the Caribbees, coming as royal governor with strict orders to enforce the Acts of Trade and secret instructions to obtain the 4½ per cent. duty, was anything but welcome to the planters of the Leeward Islands. It was, however, the commercial rivalry of the Barbados, and the influence of its planters on a governor who resided in the island, that was to be feared. Between 1640 and 1660 Barbados had become very prosperous: a great number of fugitives from England, voluntary<sup>3</sup> or forced, had flooded the island and labour was easy to get, and this with the growth of the sugar industry and improved methods of manufacture greatly increased the wealth of the country, although it also produced many economic problems. The Leeward planters also began the cultivation of sugar, and Barbados looked with no friendly eye upon this competition; this was common knowledge, and the northerners felt they would prosper better under a governor who did not reside in the rival island. After the experiences of the late war the problem of defence was anxiously discussed, and the Leeward interest desired their own governor, for it often took several weeks to get news to Barbados which lay further west than the Leeward group. Although Barbados had done its best to help the weaker islands during the war, spending money and men to recover Antigua and Montserrat, and to hold Nevis, yet the Leeward planters and merchants

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 602.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 2395, fo. 457 (Champante's argument).

<sup>3</sup> Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657), gives an account of his flight to Barbados in 1647 with Modyford and other royalist exiles.

were sore at their ill-fortune and wished for change. To all these reasons must be added the personal factor. George Marsh, a merchant and Leeward planter with interests in both Nevis and St Christopher<sup>1</sup>, and brother-in-law to Sir James Russell, the deputy-governor of the former island, was a man of energy and ambition. Setting his heart on the idea of a separate government and hoping to be the first governor, he used all his influence at court as Squire of the Body to the King, to bring about his end.

In the negotiations to oppose the Carlisle patent and to destroy the proprietary form of government the merchants of Barbados had been to the fore and had since held the ear of the Committee of Council for Plantations, but early in 1666, when war was threatening with France, Marsh began his intrigues. Knowing well the danger of St Christopher, he proposed that he should raise a number of volunteers in Barbados and the other islands, and expel the French from St Christopher by a surprise attack. The lands and negroes of the enemy were to be the property of Marsh and his fellow undertakers, and in a secret clause Marsh promised to ship £50,000 of goods to the King's credit within a year. The proposal that Marsh should be appointed governor for three years shows the trend of this scheme, but although articles of agreement were actually drawn up they were never concluded<sup>2</sup>, and the arrival of the news of the French success in St Christopher proved that Marsh and his comrades had been only too correct in their forebodings. Though this first attempt had failed, the loss of Lord Willoughby at sea provided another opportunity for pushing the project, and Marsh and his friends agitated against the inclusion of the Leeward Islands in the new commission. The Committee for Plantations decided that Champante, Willoughby's agent, had failed to refute the planters' contention that the Leeward Islands were of old a separate government independent of Barbados, but the Committee would not report to the King to this effect

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, I, p. 477 (Marsh in St Christopher in 1659); *C.S.P.*, II, 1650, 1724. It was largely owing to Marsh's solicitation that Russell was confirmed as deputy-governor by Lord Willoughby in 1661. Add. MSS. 11411, fo. 32 (Willoughby—Russell, 19. 2. 61).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1153–1160 (March, 1666).



after only one hearing<sup>1</sup>, and their diffidence was probably increased by the fact that a commission had already passed to William Lord Willoughby with the same powers as those granted to his brother<sup>2</sup>.

Shortly after the Peace of Breda with its stipulation for the return of the English half of St Christopher, Marsh and his friends submitted a lengthy set of proposals.

That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to send over some person as Your Majesty's lieutenant for the islands of Nevis, St Christopher, Antigua and Montserrat and that they may be no longer under the government of Your Majesty's lieutenant of the Barbados.

*Reasons.* For that these islands being in sight of each other, are able to give speedy aid and assistance to each other upon all occasions, and the Barbados being a 100 leagues distant and many times 5 or 6 weeks before a ship can gain the Barbados from the Leeward Islands is rendered incapable of giving any sudden relief.

As also for that the Council and Assembly of Your Majesty's Lieutenant in Barbados being Barbadians, their interest is that these islands be no more settled; for now these islands are lost, one pound of their sugar will be as much worth as two were before (but Your Majesty's customs but  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much) and we can prove that several of the Barbadians have wished these islands sunk declaring it would be the better for them, for now there was so much sugar made, that it was a mere drugg<sup>3</sup>.

The petition also complained of the expenditure at Barbados of powder intended for the defence of the Leeward Islands. The new governor should have extensive power to grant away the land of absentees that the islands might be properly settled, and the governor was to be himself a planter,

and not like those late governors<sup>4</sup> men of no fortunes, who would take what goods they pleased from the Merchants and factors and never pay them for them, and if they refused to let them have their goods, imprison them.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1387 (23. 1. 67). The connection of Marsh and Russell with this petition is proved by the endorsement on the back.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1372 (3. 1. 67).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1597; Egerton 2395, fo. 455 (Oct. 1667).

<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to Watts of St Christopher or to Henry Willoughby, as Russell of Nevis was a promoter of these proposals and can hardly be meant.

It will be seen that planters and merchants whose interests were frequently so opposed, joined in promoting these proposals<sup>1</sup>.

To these demands Willoughby's agent made but a poor reply. He explained that Willoughby's authority over the Leeward Islands was exercised not as governor of the Barbados as was alleged, but as governor-in-chief of all the Caribbees, and pleaded that any of the minor improvements suggested would be best carried out by Willoughby himself, whose patent would be sadly infringed if any separate governor of the Leeward Islands were commissioned by the King<sup>2</sup>.

News of this great attempt to curtail his power reached Willoughby in December 1667, just as he was about to visit the Leeward Islands to resettle them after the war<sup>3</sup>. Visiting Montserrat and Antigua, he obtained addresses disavowing the separatist movement, and declaring that the planters wished nothing better than to remain under his government and trusted to him for future protection<sup>4</sup>. Armed with these declarations he arrived at Nevis, the stronghold of the movement, and, addressing the Assembly, encouraged them to follow the good example of the other islands<sup>5</sup>. Here, too, he succeeded in getting a favourable address, and promptly used these documents as conclusive evidence that the proposals of the clique in London had no real backing among the planters themselves<sup>6</sup>.

Hitherto the attempts at separation had proved unsuccessful, and Willoughby's energetic, though not always prudent action as governor decided the King to renew his commission after the three years had elapsed for which he was first appointed. The wording of this new commission, which was to last "during pleasure," seemed to stamp Marsh's scheme as a failure<sup>7</sup>, but the lengthy diplomatic negotiations over the restitution of

<sup>1</sup> There was, however, an opposition of merchants at Nevis who made complaints against Russell. *C.S.P.*, II, 1665, 1669, 1694.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 457. Champante also pointed out that one of the signatories was Everard, the Cromwellian ex-governor of St Christopher.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1648-50 (Willoughby's letters, 16. 12. 67).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1668, 1676 (Montserrat), 1688 (Antigua).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1665 (Jan. 1668).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1692-1694 (Willoughby's letter from Barbados, 15. 2. 68).

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, 128 (Nov. 69), Willoughby had returned to England to negotiate this renewal in 1669. He did not return to Barbados till 17. 10. 72.

St Christopher finally brought the separatist agitation to a successful issue. As early as December 1669 it was rumoured that Willoughby himself was not really anxious for the recovery of the island because of his interest as a planter in Antigua, and that the Barbados planters would sooner the island were "sunk" than recovered<sup>1</sup>. This same distrust expressed itself in August 1670 in the petition from the merchants and planters of the Leeward Islands that men from those islands should be joined with Barbados planters in the commission for demanding restitution<sup>2</sup>, and the success which attended this plea led to the presentation of their last petition for separation. In this especial stress was laid on the delay at St Christopher, and the jealousy of Barbados explained,

by reason that the soyle and water of the aforesaid island produceth better indico and sugar; their trade is so much to the disadvantage of the Barbados that the inhabitants thereof do rather wish that the said islands were displanted, than at any time contribute to their safety and prosperity as may appear to Your Lordships by their delay in the re-establishing of the island of St Christopher<sup>3</sup>.

Willoughby, who was still in England, was summoned to the Council for Foreign Plantations to meet the Leeward Island petitioners<sup>4</sup>, and endeavoured to belittle their case by emphasising the help rendered by Barbados during the war<sup>5</sup>. He also wrote to his deputy-governor at Barbados, Christopher Codrington, to send a copy of the petition to the Leeward Islands, and to explain to the planters there that he had long intended to commission a Lieut.-General among them<sup>6</sup>; by urging separation they were cutting off the bough on which they sat. Long before these letters could reach their destination the matter was settled. On 17th Nov., 1670, the Council of Plantations reported in favour of the petition, giving as reasons, the firmness of the French occupation of St Christopher, the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 131 (letter from Nevis planter).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 232. This petition is largely the result of the letter last cited; *vide* signatures.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 268, 269 (22. 10. 70).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 268, 297; cf. also Egerton 2395, fo. 470 (Willoughby—Povey, 24. 9. 70).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 309 (Willoughby's answer).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, 327 (7. 11. 70).

distance between that island and Barbados, and the fact that the planters themselves desired this change—an argument which did not always weigh heavily with the Councils and Committees of Plantations<sup>1</sup>.

Thus at last Marsh's plan had succeeded, but he was to gain nothing from it, for stronger interests had carried his movement to the finish. The  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. export duty never came up to the demands of the many claims charged upon it, and in order to provide some ready money, this duty at Barbados had just been farmed by a needy Exchequer to Colonel Strobe, the Deputy-Governor of Dover Castle, Sir Charles Wheler, and George Marsh<sup>2</sup>. The determination of the government to bring the endless negotiations about St Christopher to a speedy conclusion coincided with the desire of the farmers to gain some revenue from that island. Wheler helped to push the Leeward planters' petition and was recognised as the destined governor under the new arrangement<sup>3</sup>. The planters were soon to find that they had got more than they bargained for, first with Wheler, a keen mercantilist who enforced the Acts of Trade with unusual vigour, then with Stapleton, soldier and planter, who ruled them for many years with strength and firmness.

Sir Charles Wheler's action in buying the farm of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and his support of the petition for separation make it easy to understand how he came to be chosen as the new governor: once out there he would have a good reason for enforcing the Acts of Trade, even though he had no direct interest in the Leeward farm. A clever and energetic man, he was soon to prove that, however good his intentions, his wits were not sharp enough to outdo the French<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., III, 268 and 339.

<sup>2</sup> Out-letters customs, I, 211 (July 1670). For the farm of the Leeward portion of this duty Marsh was outbid by Colonel Strobe.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., III, 327 (Willoughby—Codrington, 7. 11. 70).

<sup>4</sup> Wheler was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was ejected in 1644. With others he was entrusted to carry the University Plate to the King. At the Restoration he commanded a company in Ireland, and later a regiment of foot. He was M.P. for Cambridge University 1667–1679. He succeeded to the baronetage of his cousin William by special remainder in 1666, but not to the estates, and hence ensued a long action in Chancery, which ended in a division between the two claimants (*Genealogist*, New series, II, 202; III, 41, 216); cf. also Cockayne, *Baronetage*, sub nom. Wheler.

The new commission<sup>1</sup> appointed Wheler Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands with much the same powers as those granted to Lord Willoughby, but the emergency power of issuing Orders in Council which had been granted to both the previous governors was withheld. Three clauses call for special notice. The power to call General Assemblies was so loosely worded that though Wheler never took the step, his successor Stapleton made a tentative and interesting experiment in federation by calling together representatives from each island<sup>2</sup>. All laws had to be sent home as soon as they were passed, and if not confirmed within two years, lapsed automatically<sup>3</sup>. In accordance with the movement which was extending the King's authority at the expense of proprietary and royal governors alike, the clause allowing Willoughby to appoint deputy-governors at pleasure was altered in Wheler's commission: he had to report their death and was only to authorise a temporary substitute till the King's pleasure was known. Wheler, however, was not the man to see his powers curtailed if he could help it, and an extra commission was drawn granting full powers to appoint deputy-governors but with a proviso that Stapleton, who had been appointed Deputy-Governor of Montserrat by William Lord Willoughby, should be continued in that office<sup>4</sup>.

The energy and activity of the Select Council of Foreign Plantations in 1670 may be seen in the detailed instructions issued to Wheler<sup>5</sup>. He was to proceed to Nevis, and there fill up the Council, if necessary, with men of good estates, and to transmit home a list of all councillors with their holdings: he was to return an annual census, a copy of all the laws in force, and all that might be enacted in the future as well as complete lists of imports and exports and detailed accounts of the King's revenue. All merchants were to be encouraged, and especially the Royal African Company. Wheler was to impress on the planters the King's interest in them,

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 393 (25. 1. 71).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter IX.

<sup>3</sup> In Willoughby's commission laws were only non-effective if definitely disallowed. *C.S.P.*, II, 1372.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 416-419 (24. 2. 71).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 398 (dated 31. 1. 71).

letting them know the great care we have had of their security and advantage in the separating of the government of our said Leeward Islands from that of the Barbados, and that we shall continue from time to time as occasion shall happen to give them all due encouragement and Protection.

A special clause enjoined religious toleration, and because we are still content to give all possible encouragement to persons of different judgement and opinions in matters of religion, to transport themselves with their stock and that they may not under pretence of scruples in conscience receive any discouragement there, you shall dispense with the taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy to those that have any part in the government (except Members and officers of the Council to whom you are hereby particularly directed to administer the same) finding out some other way of securing yourself of their allegiance to us and our government there. And in no other case are you to suffer any man to be molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, so he be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoying of it not giving therein offence or scandal to the government.

In his own family, however, the governor was obliged to use profession of the established religion.

The Council also considered the question of defence, and Wheler was provided with powder, big guns to be returned, if the French gave up those they had captured on St Christopher, and 1000 muskets to be paid for, according to the usual practice, by the planters. Willoughby had already pointed out the need of a standing garrison in St Christopher and Wheler's suggestion that two companies be raised from Bridge's regiment was accepted: they were to be paid from the farm of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty<sup>1</sup>. Thus in May 1671 Wheler at length set sail, entrusted by the home government with the duty of settling many of their troublesome problems in the West Indies; he jointly with Lynch, the new Governor of Jamaica, was to disband Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment, he was to receive back St Christopher from the French, he was to appoint commissioners to negotiate the re-entry of the planters<sup>2</sup>, while as independent governor of the Leeward Islands he was to calm the jealous rivalry with Barbados.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 410. (Wheler's proposals, 9. 2. 71); 412 (Council's report, 14. 2. 71); cf. 527, 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 456-465.

After touching at Madeira early in May the little fleet stood across to Barbados where the reception given to Wheler was anything but cordial. He was disliked as the personification of the separatist movement in the Leeward Islands and as farmer of the hated export duty: the local government had already seized the opportunity of imprisoning one of the farmer's agents for a technical misuse of the King's flag, and now looked sourly on Wheler, none but the Deputy-Governor Codrington having anything to do with him<sup>1</sup>. Barbados was soon left as the hurricane season was near, and Lynch only kept Wheler company to Nevis that he might help him to enter his government with greater pomp, lingering a day to hear the French answer to Wheler's demands and then sailing for Jamaica.

I have stayed here a day extraordinary to hear the answer from St Christopher.... Yesterday Capt. Mathews returned and to-day is gone again. The Governor gives good words and promises rendition but has no orders from the King or the Captain-General at Martinico; they expect at that port every day 7 frigates from France<sup>2</sup>.

Wheler was now confronted with the first really difficult task he had to perform. The disbandment of Bridge's regiment at Barbados had been a mere formality, though the problem of payment which faced the home government was a very different thing; but now it was Wheler's duty to demand once more that St Christopher should be restored to the English. De la Barre had been recalled to France, and his successor M. de Baas came from Martinique on the receipt of Wheler's message, and arriving at St Christopher caused much uneasiness by delaying several days before opening negotiations. He then sent a deputation whom Wheler met with courteous firmness.

Then he and all the company with extraordinary importunity invited me to dine the next day with M. de Baas; but they got no answer than to this effect, that when the business was over M. de Baas should command me what he pleased, but that I would not set my foot upon St Christopher upon any occasion whatsoever but to regain possession<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 549 (Lynch—Arlington, 7. 6. 71), 550 (Wheler—Arlington, 8. 6. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 553 (Lynch—Arlington, 15. 6. 71).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 586 (Wheler—Arlington, 6. 7. 71).

This dignified reply had its effect, a meeting was agreed upon at the English Road for the next day, and there on the 5/15th July, 1671, the English part of St Christopher was at last restored and a formal document duly signed and sealed<sup>1</sup>. It was with justifiable pride that Wheler marched forth next day with 20 cannon and a guard of soldiers to hoist the King's colours with due pomp upon the Old Fort, and to relieve a corporal and file of men whom he had left there to retain technical possession. His report must have been written with almost a twinkle in his eye.

If there was any small artifice on my side it was that they did apprehend that I would have attempted it by force, for they enquired after my beating drums for volunteers, sending for two companies of foot from Montserrat and Antigua, landing a thousand muskets and 50 barrels of powder, but chiefly my putting 20 good pieces of cannon on board a ship, which they thought I would use as a battery and my privately enquiring of some of those turn-coat English, who lived among them and whom I knew came as spies to me, of certain ways of marching over the mountains and rocks, into the English quarters which I knew they would tell again, and this proving at a time when they had no ships, and we had 20 in our road, together with my great severeness, when they did several times send gentlemen unto me, might possibly make them apprehend, that some inconvenience might issue upon their refusing me possession; but, my Lord, by what means soever it is done, I hope I may with modesty promise the King, it shall be as hardly lost as it has with difficulty been regained<sup>2</sup>.

Thus by an admirable mixture of tact, firmness and common sense and with the aid of a practical joke Sir Charles Wheler had accomplished in a few days what had been attempted in vain for the last three years. There was, however, a much more difficult problem to solve, and in dealing with the question of the re-entry of English planters, and their payment for improvements, Wheler was too confident and allowed himself to be overreached by the subtle diplomacy of the Frenchman. Within eight months of his great success Wheler deserted his government and returned to England in disgrace.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 583-585 (the Act of Surrender).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 586 (Wheler—Arlington, 6. 7. 71).



## CHAPTER IV

### THE ST CHRISTOPHER NEGOTIATIONS

ART. 8. But if any of the subjects of the said King of Great Britain shall have sold the goods [bona] which he possessed in that island, and the price of the sale hath been paid unto him, he shall not be restored and put into possession of those goods by virtue of the present agreement, before he hath actually paid back the price of the money he hath received.

ART. 12. Also, the Most Christian King shall in like manner restore unto the King of Great Britain the islands called Antigoa and Monsarat (if they be in his power)....

ART. 13. But if any of those servants and slaves that served the English in that part of the isle of St Christopher's which belonged to the foresaid King of Great Britain, as also in the islands called Antigoa and Monsarat, when they were taken by the arms of the foresaid Most Christian King, shall desire to return again unto the subjection of the English (yet without all force or constraint), it shall be free and lawful for them to do so, within the space of six months, to be reckoned from the day on which the same islands shall be restored.

Treaty of Breda.

THE old adage that possession is nine points of the law was never better illustrated than in the case of the English claims on St Christopher under the terms of the Treaty of Breda. Despite the French King's continual professions of good faith it had taken three years to put the English flag once more upon the fort at Sandy Point, and this was but a barren victory. The actual land was still largely held by French squatters while the slaves, without whose labour the land itself was useless, were scattered throughout the different French plantations in the West Indies and even further afield. Under the Treaty of Breda the English could claim their goods and estates ["bona"] upon repayment of the purchase money, while slaves who had been captured by the French were to be allowed a free choice between their old and new masters. Such in brief were the terms of the treaty, but it was one thing to make an agreement in Europe and quite another to enforce it in the West Indies. The practical application of these terms had been greatly complicated by the lapse of time. The negroes captured at St Christopher had in many cases changed hands at different prices and were widely scattered, while those taken by the French at Antigua and Montserrat,

a most valuable item<sup>1</sup>, were according to French arguments not included in the treaty on the technical ground that those two islands had never been actually in the possession of the French, and that therefore the negroes captured there were legitimate spoils of war. The case of the plantations sold by the English at St Christopher was even more difficult: in many cases the French had rebuilt houses and mills destroyed by war or hurricane and demanded compensation in addition to the original purchase price. On the other hand the English claimed that the French had spoiled the plantations and this was largely true. When in April 1669 Henry Willoughby refused to take over the island on the ground of lack of instructions Colbert saw an opportunity of defeating the treaty altogether. The French had always wished to retain St Christopher, and after failing to secure that agreement in the Treaty of Breda<sup>2</sup>, or to arrange for a purchase of the island, it seemed that a chance was now to hand. Colbert issued definite instructions that as much of the English quarter as possible should be wasted, that seeing the state of their plantations they should be the more ready to listen to a proposal for exchange, or in any case loath to undertake the cost and labour of replanting the island.

Sa Majesté desire de plus que vous examiniez s'il ne seroit pas avantageux, jusqu'à ce que l'on puisse connoistre l'intention de Anglois sur la partie d'isle de Saint-Christophe qui leur appartient, de ne la point cultiver, en sorte qu'il leur fust plus difficile de s'y venir habituer. Je crois qu'au moins, pour toutes les terres qui n'ont point esté achetées des Anglois, vous pouvez les faire abandonner sans difficulté; et à l'égard de celles qui ont esté achetées le moins qu'elles pourront estre cultivées, ce sera assurément le mieux<sup>3</sup>.

This deliberate destruction led to counter-claims for "pejorations" against the "meliorations" of the French. There was even a dispute about the actual amount of the purchase money. It was alleged that the French had altered the terms of the contracts after they had been signed, that the sellers had never received the amounts stated, signing the contracts through their

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 678. Wheler estimated them at 1500 worth £40,000.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *History of England*, III, 422-3 (Oxford, 1875).

<sup>3</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 454-5 (Colbert—M. de Baas, 13. 6. 69); cf. 453-4, 460. 480, 486-7.

ignorance of the French language, and that the actual payment had generally been made in articles of no value, canvas, old shoes and trumpery instead of in the standard currency, sugar<sup>1</sup>.

Such were the problems which Wheler had to solve, but he soon found himself overreached by de Baas. Wheler had been sent out with a wide power to treat

for and concerning ameliorations, keeping and dieting of prisoners, the re-entry of the English into the possession of such part of their estates and goods as have by them been sold to the French, and for and concerning all other matters and things relating to the full and perfect execution of that part of the said Treaty of Breda<sup>2</sup>.

With this wide commission he received wide instructions, but two points were specially insisted upon, the time limit of a year for claiming re-entry was not to be curtailed unless "you find it may be done without much inconvenience to our subjects<sup>3</sup>," while no French claims for improvements were to hinder re-entry if the purchase money was tendered, for such claims could be reasonably adjusted afterwards.

Wheler made his first false step after receiving back the island in July, for while he was arranging for the fortification of the English quarter, de Baas with great cunning slipped away to Martinique. Thus the Commissioners which both parties had appointed in the Instrument of Cession did not meet until 12th October, when four months of the twelve for reclaiming estates had already elapsed<sup>4</sup>. Meanwhile Wheler was anxious to attract settlers to the island as soon as possible and took it upon himself to issue an important proclamation dated St Bartholomew's Day (August 24th)<sup>5</sup>. This document laid it down that all settlers must put in their claims and pay their money "forthwith," and that none would be allowed re-entry except those who brought sufficient stock to work their estates profitably, that a general levy would be raised to pay all French

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 678 (Wheler—Arlington, 9. 12. 71); cf. 977.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 460 (Wheler's commission to compose differences).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 462 (instructions to compose differences).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 977-8 (Wheler's defence, 7-10. 12. 72).

<sup>5</sup> He afterwards claimed that it was not actually published till a month later. *Ib.*

claims under the Treaty of Breda, that none who had acted as traitors or cowards would be reinstated and that those who were resettled would be charged a graduated quit-rent according to their behaviour at the loss of the island. Finally he limited the time for claims from a year to three months for those in Europe and the more distant plantations, and a month only for those in the Caribbees<sup>1</sup>. This proclamation seemed to the home government so prejudicial to the interests of the refugees that Wheler was speedily recalled. Speaking later in his defence he stated that most of the old planters at St Christopher were small men who had now settled elsewhere, and that he issued the proclamation with the definite intention of attracting new men and thus strengthening the island: he did not want the island half populated through broken men reclaiming big estates<sup>2</sup>.

On de Baas' return in October the commissioners at once set to work, with their principals near at hand, but quickly reached a deadlock and nearly came to blows. Wheler and de Baas then had a personal interview and continued their meetings until on 23rd November Wheler completely fell into his opponent's trap and signed two series of articles, the first a set of agreements which meant but little, the second containing the crucial points of the dispute which were mutually referred back to the two Kings<sup>3</sup>. The agreed articles provided that in any claim for the payment for prisoners' diet there should be deducted the cost of the work they had performed; that a rebate for deterioration should be allowed from the purchase price of plantations, but that improvements were also "to be considered": that Wheler might re-enter any plantation where the French occupier refused the oath of allegiance, "and as to these contracts which are said to mention more than was effectually paid, they are referred to the consciences of Sir Charles Wheler and M. de Baas." As to the slaves, those of St Christopher should appear on the frontier to make choice of their master, while those of Antigua and Montserrat who had since fled back to their English masters, but were still claimed by the French, should be equally divided

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 658 (i) (the Proclamation).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 977 (Wheler's defence).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 678, 977.

between Wheler and de Baas until the whole question of these negroes should be determined from home<sup>1</sup>.

It might seem that Wheler had been very successful in making these agreements, but the success was barren for there was no effective machinery to execute the treaty. It was in the set of disputes referred back to the two Kings that de Baas gained his great victory. Wheler had been sent out with a full and wide commission to decide all questions, and the most he attained was to send back the crucial problems unsolved. This re-opened once again the endless diplomatic negotiations in Europe and tied the hands of his successor, while the French were growing stronger in their possessions by mere lapse of time. With almost clumsy care Wheler had tried to guard his country's interests.

In your perusing these articles of our treaty I desire your Lordship to read the last paragraph first, which French caution you will not find in that which I signed in French to le M. de Baas, for he refused it.

The proviso runs,

Lastly Sir Charles Wheler does not present his sense of these articles which remain undecided so that His Majesty's ministers who are far more knowing, should be bound up by his reasons and excluded from making other and better arguments or replies than he hath done in his debate with M. de Bas.

There is almost a touch of humour in his explanation,

Your Lordships will find that these papers run not so smoothly in English as in French, because I treated in French and afterwards translated it into English, and for the Preamble I am of opinion that it is not very good sense, even in French, but they were fond of their eloquence and would not alter it<sup>2</sup>.

There was anything but humour in the situation when their lordships realised by the enclosure that Wheler had been absolutely outmanoeuvred. The points referred by this agreement to Europe for settlement were four in number. The details of payment for prisoners' diet, and the question of compensation

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 762 (articles agreed upon). This temporary division of the slaves was regarded by the English planters as an attempt to obtain cheap labour on Wheler's part.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 678 (Wheler—Arlington, 9. 12. 71, enclosing the articles referred back).

for buildings and moveables taken away by the French since the peace were of less importance. The possession of the negroes taken at Antigua and Montserrat was a much vexed question, while the decision as to the exact price that had been paid for each plantation was a crucial point. This could only be settled on the spot and yet it was referred back to Europe<sup>1</sup>.

As soon as these agreements were signed by Wheler and de Baas, the old National Court, consisting of two men from each of the four divisions of the island, took in hand the duty of carrying out the articles and replacing the claimants, while disputes were to be referred to the two generals. Wheler was now heartily sick of the whole matter and had already sought to be relieved from his thankless post<sup>2</sup>. It was however about the beginning of March 1672 that he suddenly realised that his plans had not worked well. The National Court had now been sitting for some time and had only succeeded in restoring a few small men, no planter had been restored to an estate of any size. St Laurence, the French governor of St Christopher was not a help, and it was an insult for the Captain-General, so thought Wheler and his Council, to have to treat with a mere deputy. A letter to de Baas at Martinique failed to fetch him, and Wheler set off thence to bring him back to St Christopher. Then came the sudden rumour that a commission had arrived for Stapleton to succeed him as Governor-General, and Wheler fled home by way of France, a ruined man<sup>3</sup>. The National Court rose with mutual protests as soon as a year had elapsed from the date of the restoration of the island, although they had only been sitting for some seven months. The problem was more complicated than ever.

The action which had thus brought down on Wheler's head

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 678 (i).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 682 (Wheler—Williamson, 9. 12. 71), and Evelyn's *Diary*, 15. 9. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 977 and 842, 891 (Stapleton—C.F.P., 27. 5. 72, and to Arlington, 13. 7. 72). Wheler's later career was not important. In 1673 he is "a discontented Colonel," ready to attack Lauderdale (Camden Society. Letters to Williamson, II, 62), and he supported the attack on Arlington (*ib.* 115). Later he supported Danby and gained some influence but lost it again in 1679 (H.M.C. 'Ormonde,' N.S., IV, 517-8, and Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 167). He died in 1683.

the wrath of the Council of Plantations was his publication of the ill-advised proclamation in the hope of encouraging the speedy settlement of St Christopher. It is strange that the man who had been so careful to send back a duplicate of the account of his recovery of the island, "that his Majesty might first know his own business before the news should come any other way upon the exchange<sup>1</sup>," should be so careless as merely to send this important proclamation to his friend and partner Col. Strode. Wheler asked Strode to get the King's assent and then publish the proclamation on the exchange and at Bristol<sup>2</sup>. Col. Strode however promptly handed the document to Slingsby the secretary to the Council of Plantations, who were much piqued at receiving their news in this roundabout way. The Council set to work to examine the document, and reported very strongly against it<sup>3</sup>. They objected to the proclamation as a whole since it ought to have contained some mention of the English claims for damage to their plantations. They objected to each clause in particular, "forthwith" was too strong a word to use for repayment, it was absurd for Wheler to set himself up as sole judge of how much stock the planters must bring and unreasonable to expect these refugees to have stock at all, there was no need for a general levy since any payments under the Treaty of Breda were purely personal, the clauses forbidding the return of traitors and imposing a differential quit-rent were beyond his instructions and so was the last clause which limited the time for reclaiming land very obviously to the hurt of the refugees<sup>4</sup>. The Council of Plantations were instructed to draft a proclamation annulling that of Wheler, and to find a new governor for the Leeward Islands<sup>5</sup>. The first duty was quickly done. The new proclamation<sup>6</sup> cancelled Wheler's arrangements and promised re-entry to all, no matter what stock they brought,

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 589 (Wheler—Arlington, 14. 7. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 658 (i) (Wheler—Strode, 24. 8. 71); cf. *ib.* 977 (Wheler's defence, Dec. 1672).

<sup>3</sup> Wheler's letter received by Council on 13. 11. 71; report to King, 24. 11. 71. King's reply, 27. 11. 71. *C.S.P.*, III, 659, 661; cf. Evelyn's *Diary*, 14. 11. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 657–658.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 661 (Lauderdale—C.F.P., 27. 11. 71).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, 706 (22. 12. 71).

an indemnity to those who had acted badly at the loss of the island, and that no quit-rents or levies should be imposed without an act of the Island Assembly. The old time limit of one year from the date of recovery was reimposed, but those who had not sold their lands were granted till December 1672 for claiming the holdings. Arlington promised to see the French ambassador, and if necessary get a letter from Louis annulling Wheler's proclamation<sup>1</sup>. Thus easily though not without some feeling of mistrust was this first step taken: the Council were soon to find that what they feared had taken place, and Wheler's other actions were even more prejudicial to his countrymen and infinitely harder to undo. A signed agreement is a different thing from a mere proclamation.

The man who was chosen to succeed Wheler was Colonel William Stapleton, the Deputy-Governor of Montserrat. He was an Irishman who had left his country through loyalty to the King and had seen service in France, Spain, and Italy<sup>2</sup>. After the Restoration, like many returned exiles he had fallen on hard times, and was glad of the chance to revive his fortunes offered by the war<sup>3</sup>. Coming out to the West Indies as Lieut.-Colonel of Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment, he was taken prisoner in the attempt on St Christopher, but released at the armistice. His knowledge of French led to his employment in many of the negotiations at St Christopher; while his nationality led Lord Willoughby to appoint him Deputy-Governor of Montserrat<sup>4</sup>.

Montserrat...is very well resettled most of the inhabitants Irish, I first empowered Stanley an old planter of the island, Governor, but have now commissioned Lieut-Colonel Stapleton their governor, intending to send him and his company thither, he is Lieut-Colonel to Sir Tobias Bridge, a man of known valour, good conduct and great integrity, was born in Ireland and therefore understands the better to govern his countrymen<sup>5</sup>.

This appointment marked the turning point in Stapleton's life;

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 677 (Minutes of C.F.P., 7. 12. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1359; vi, 1006 (Stapleton's reminiscences).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1429; VI, 1370. Petitions, vol. 142 (pt 2), 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1663 (negotiation for release of Warner), 1743 (Willoughby's demand for St Christopher, 1668); III, 586, 678 (Commissioner to negotiate at St Christopher under Wheler).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1788 (Willoughby—Lords of Council, 9. 7. 68).



from a mere soldier of fortune he became a responsible administrator bound to the country by the possession of an estate, and ever more attached to the interests and views of the planter class<sup>1</sup>. With Willoughby's return to England in 1669 Stapleton soon became known to the home government as a dependable man, and when Wheler received the right to appoint his deputy-governors, Stapleton was confirmed in his post by a special proviso<sup>2</sup>. Shortly after it was even decided to give him a special commission, with the title of Governor of Montserrat. Thus he became governor of his island in virtue of the King's commission, and not merely as one of Wheler's deputies, yet he was to obey all orders he might receive from the Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands<sup>3</sup>.

Stapleton was appointed to succeed Wheler in 1672 because of "the competition of several pretenders here," and was regarded at first as merely a stop-gap<sup>4</sup>. He had not been a great advocate of separation, yet it was his energetic administration which was to establish the separate government on so firm a basis that it still exists to-day<sup>5</sup>. With the choice of Stapleton to succeed Wheler the whole question of the relationship of the Leeward Islands to Barbados had been re-opened. Even after Stapleton's commission had passed the Great Seal it was still being discussed whether he should be subject to Willoughby at Barbados; "the debate was serious and long<sup>6</sup>," but Willoughby's new commission limited his powers to the Barbados and Indian Islands<sup>7</sup>. An echo of this question was heard in 1675 when a new governor was appointed to Barbados: "Quaere, if the governor of Barbados, Sir Jonathan Atkins have the Leeward Islands under him, or that they remain under Colonel Stapleton<sup>8</sup>." This is the last to be heard of the matter.

<sup>1</sup> He married in 1671 Ann Russell, daughter of the governor of Nevis, *C.S.P.*, III, 553.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 417 (24. 2. 71).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 536-8 (23. 5. 1671).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 766 (Arlington—Wheler, 22. 2. 72).

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Stapleton—Willoughby, 2. 11. 71. Now lost but abstracted. *C.S.P.*, III, 804.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn's *Diary*, 1. 3. 72.

<sup>7</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 871. There was some friction over Willoughby's new commission. Egerton 2395, fo. 479-480 (Willoughby—Povey, 4. 7. 72).

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 504 (a scribbled query on back of the letter dated March 1675).

At Montserrat on 22nd May, 1672, Stapleton received his commission and instructions but failed to get into touch with Wheler.

Sir Charles Wheler could not be found to resign the government nor to receive His Majesty's letter, which I sent by two of the Council of Montserrat, understanding that he was retired to the French ground of St Christopher's and thence as it was suggested to Martinico; being becalmed he went no farther than Guardeloupe whence he sailed for France with M. Pellissier one of the Lords of the French Company<sup>1</sup>.

Stapleton went at once to St Christopher and there found himself faced with a similar problem to that with which Wheler had to deal, but complicated by Wheler's mistakes.

By the tenour of a late Proclamation issued out by Sir Charles Wheler, we may well suspect his other proceedings to have been as disadvantageous as the said Proclamation was discouraging to our good subjects the old Planters of St Christopher,

ran the preamble of Stapleton's instructions<sup>2</sup>, and he was ordered to review the negotiations of the commissioners and to tell them that the King positively adhered to his original agreement with the French ambassador that a year should be allowed for reclaiming plantations, and that re-entry should be given at once on repayment of the sale price. He was also to claim for wilful damage since the peace, and to encourage any of the King's subjects to repurchase the plantations that all might be redeemed within the necessary time. Armed with these instructions Stapleton set to work, but as usual de Baas was at Martinique. The Frenchman played his cards cleverly, only giving his commissioner, the judge of Guadeloupe, power to treat concerning the articles agreed between himself and Wheler, and any questions which had been referred by the National Court. He refused absolutely to negotiate concerning the vital points which had been referred back to the two Kings. A deadlock at once ensued: Stapleton would not allow his commissioner

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 891 (Stapleton—Arlington, 13. 7. 72). The original letter of recall with seal attached, which Stapleton was unable to give to Wheler, is now in the P.R.O. It is *C.S.P.*, III, 758.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 707.

to treat with one who had such limited powers, and again a barren protest was the only result<sup>1</sup>. The French actually claimed the full price of the plantations without any allowance for their wilful devastations,

which they father upon the hurricanes, though it is palpable that the storms have not carried away the timber into the French grounds but their own waggons and weanes....In fine my Lords, I gather the King's subjects as to execution of the Peace made at Breda, have little or no benefit thereof, and are objects of pity, looking daily upon their slaves, horses, and other moveables in other men's possession<sup>2</sup>.

The lengthy negotiations that now ensued between England and France had little practical result in the West Indies, except that the French by their policy of procrastination managed very largely to nullify the concessions of Breda and to cripple the future development of St Christopher. That island from being the centre of the Leeward group, became for a time quite the least important. Two definite attempts were made in England to force the French to carry out the terms of the treaty, and the course of these negotiations well illustrates the lack of continuity in colonial administration by the various Councils and Committees of Plantations, and the handicap placed on English diplomacy by the peculiar relations between the two countries.

The first attempt was undertaken by the reorganised Council of Trade and Plantations of 1672. At its opening meeting on October 13th it so happened that Stapleton's letter reporting the failure of negotiations was read<sup>3</sup>. The Council set to work at once, and they were kept busy at this problem for over nine months. Towards the end of November a rumour got about that Wheler had arrived in England, and at Arlington's suggestion the Council appointed a small committee to confer with him and get a first-hand account of what had really taken place<sup>4</sup>. Wheler was very sorry for the mistakes he had made, and gave a clear

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 891 (Stapleton—Arlington, 13. 7. 72), 869 (Minutes of Council St Christopher, 24. 6. 72).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 896 (Stapleton's reply to Enquiries, 17. 7. 72). For a discussion of the number of planters who returned see p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 896 (Stapleton—C.F.P., 17. 7. 72). This letter was addressed to the old Council of Plantations but that Council was now reorganised.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 974 (29. 11. 72).

and accurate statement which agreed with the general facts of the case<sup>1</sup>. With this material to hand the Council was ordered by the King to prepare a report, and at their request Dr Worsley, their secretary, examined all the documents and drew up two reports on the state of the case<sup>2</sup>. In general he argued that the English had never enjoyed what was clearly their right under the Treaty of Breda, that the French had deliberately claimed much that the terms of the treaty did not justify and had made all the delay they could, in many cases refusing the simple and obvious interpretation of that peace. The best plan was for both Kings to disregard the "reference back" by Wheler and de Baas and thus allow the matter to be settled on the spot in accordance with the instructions already issued to Stapleton. If this were not done the alternatives were

either to take the Treaty up de novo here with the several cases that have been left undecided which appear necessary to be put into some way or other of being determined, or else for ever to relinquish to the said M. de Baas and to the French all further claim on behalf of His Majesty's subjects in St Christopher's<sup>3</sup>.

These reports were carefully considered by the Council and Worsley was then instructed to draw up their report to the King advising that he should only insist on the re-entry of the planters without their having to pay for improvements and a wide interpretation of the time limit, "and that provided this may be gained those things relating to the restoring the cannon or to the slaves, or to the damages suffered since the treaty of peace be the less insisted upon<sup>4</sup>." Slingsby, however, who was an official member of the Council, and had a long experience of the business as secretary to the late Council of Plantations, drafted a much stronger report claiming almost every point, but this was not adopted because it was thought "too warm for

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., III, 977-8. His statements as to numbers were however vague. Conferences took place on 7 and 10 Dec. and the notes were made by Worsley; cf. 1002.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1028 (order of C.T.P., 1. 2. 73) and 1034.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1033 (first report, 18. 2. 73), 1038 (second report, 25. 2. 73). The extract is from the second report.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1069 (order of C.T.P., 10. 4. 73), 1105 (report, 9. 6. 73), 903 (appendix to report containing a précis of cases left undecided by the National Court at St Christopher).

the friendship they were then in<sup>1</sup>." Worsley's very moderate report of 9th June, 1673, being duly approved by the King was handed by Arlington to Colbert de Croissy the French ambassador but no reply was forthcoming and the Lords of Trade in a later enquiry had very serious doubts whether Arlington had ever done as he had promised<sup>2</sup>. It may well be that the moderation of this memorandum, and the intimate relations between the two courts at this time made the French government consider the incident as closed.

Sa Majesté est persuadée que tous les différends que vous avez eus dans le rétablissement des Anglois dans l'Isle de Saint-Christophe sont à présent finis, d'autant que vous n'en écrivez plus rien et que le roy d'Angleterre l'a fait assurer qu'il avoit donné de si bons ordres à ses gouverneurs qu'il n'arrivent plus aucun différend<sup>3</sup>.

Since no reply could be got from Colbert de Croissy, Arlington included this matter in Lockhart's instructions, as English ambassador at Paris<sup>4</sup>, but Lockhart seems to have been singularly ill-informed although he had a copy of the Council's report. In May 1674 Lockhart laid his case before Louis in a vague and badly drafted memorandum in which he stumbled to the extent of asking for the restitution of the sovereignty of St Christopher. The only reply he was able to get from M. Pomponne was that they were too busy at the moment with the campaign but would attend to the matter on their return<sup>5</sup>. Thus the matter was shelved indefinitely, and a letter which had been delayed some six months that Stapleton might hear the determination of the business had to be despatched with news of the deadlock<sup>6</sup>.

The second great attempt to bring the negotiations about St Christopher to a close was made by the standing Committee of

<sup>1</sup> This report referred to in *C.S.P.*, iv, 596 (Minutes Lords of Trade, 18. 6. 75); *C.S.P.*, iv, 760 is probably the draft of this report; otherwise it is missing.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 739. This memorial to Colbert de Croissy was referred to in Lockhart's subsequent instructions. *C.S.P.*, iv, 764.

<sup>3</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 569 (Colbert—de Baas, 5. 9. 73).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 764.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1365 (i) and (ii) (Lockhart—Slingsby and Lockhart's Memorial). *C.S.P.*, iv, 743 (Lords of Trade opinion of this Memorial, 16. 12. 75).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1365 (C.T.P.—Stapleton, 27. 10. 74, enclosing Lockhart's memorial). Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 584 (Colbert—de Baas, 8. 11. 74). The French ambassador in England received instructions to treat, but little came of it.

the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations. This Committee had existed since the Restoration side by side with the various Councils of Trade and Plantations<sup>1</sup>, and when in February 1675 it was entrusted with the sole administration and control of colonial affairs it began at once a vigorous enquiry into the state of the Leeward Islands. This was anything but satisfactory, and after a very businesslike enquiry and report into the financial state of the government, the Lords of Trade turned to the difficult question of St Christopher. For six months the Committee worked through the immense mass of papers which had been accumulating, sorted and compared the letters and reports of the late Council, examined all who could help them, either personally or by letter, and made stringent enquiries into Arlington's office, and from the secretary to the English embassy at Paris for despatches and instructions sent concerning this affair.

The relations between England and France were very different from what they had been in 1675, Danby was now in power with his policy of opposition to France and it did not take the Committee long to decide that Worsley's report and the ensuing memorial from Lockhart were far too mild. Slingsby's draft was unearthed and Slingsby himself was called, and when it was understood that the more moderate address had been preferred partly because there was some opinion that the English demands were of grace and not of right, the Lords of Trade determined to enter into the whole question of right and of the extent of Wheler's powers<sup>2</sup>.

This decision meant a great amount of work. Arlington, unable through ill-health to attend the Committee, sent all the papers in his possession and granted Sir Robert Southwell their secretary a personal interview<sup>3</sup>. Wheler in turn explained that nothing he had done precluded the King from demanding his full rights under the Treaty of Breda, for Wheler himself

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-75*, discusses the relations between these various bodies. This standing committee was generally known as the Lords of Trade.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 594, 596 (Minutes Lords of Trade, 17 and 18. 6. 75); cf. 608.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 608-609 (Minutes 24 and 25. 6. 75).

had demanded them of de Baas and they had either been granted or referred back to the two Kings<sup>1</sup>. In August 1675 Southwell was instructed to ask Wheler for his criticism on a proposed report of the Committee, and himself to draft a proposal since he had plans of his own. Lord Berkeley was soon leaving for France as ambassador, and it was hoped to get the matter settled as soon as possible<sup>2</sup>. Wheler's chief criticism was directed against the policy of attempting to settle affairs by commissioners in the Leeward Islands and the hope of making individual French planters pay for devastations, or indeed of proving any charges against individuals. The National Court "never did decide any point in my time, but still the judges of one nation pronounced their sentence contrary to the judges of the other nation, and so I suppose it will ever be." It was useless to appeal to "Stapleton and de Baas, [who] agree like fire and water, or to the two governors Matthews and St Lawrence, and they two are yet more irreconcilable." His positive proposals were in brief that restoration should be immediately granted and that for all the disputed points the French King should "propose a way" out of the difficulty<sup>3</sup>. These suggestions were not very helpful, and the Committee read them but they "were not approved as any fit way for reparation Sir Charles himself acknowledging some mistakes therein<sup>4</sup>."

Wheler and Slingsby were both summoned to the Committee to help substantiate with proofs the various allegations brought forward<sup>5</sup>. The Book of Entries was produced, in which were included all the cases left undecided by the National Court: from this had been extracted the breviat of cases which had been attached by Worsley as an appendix to his report in 1673. It was pointed out that both Worsley and Slingsby had worked right through this volume to make their reports, and that if the Lords wished to make an independent report they must do

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 615 (Minutes, 1. 7. 75), 618 (Wheler—Committee, 7. 7. 75), 620 (Minutes, 8. 7. 75), 621 (Wheler—Southwell, same date).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 651 (Minutes, 11. 8. 75), and 652.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 660 (Wheler—Southwell, 2. 9. 75).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 671, 672, 681, 691 (Minutes of meetings of 16, 17, 24 Sept., 7 Oct.). The quotation is from the last document.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 672, 681.

the same<sup>1</sup>. This proposal however was too much for the Lords of Trade, and having fully considered the whole matter they determined to take up a position which would insist on the points in Slingsby's emphatic draft of 1673<sup>2</sup>. Wheler had already pointed out to them the difficulty of settling the disputes in the island itself, while the sight of the Book of Entries and Slingsby's remarks on the very scattered nature of the evidence of fact deterred them from any attempt to send proofs and attestations across to France. A report was therefore drafted, telling succinctly the whole history of the quarrel, and advising that powers be sought from the French King for his ambassador here to settle all the matters in dispute<sup>3</sup>. This report was submitted to the Privy Council on 8th January, 1676, "their Lordships not thinking themselves qualified to send away the same, before it received approbation from the Board<sup>4</sup>." This business finished, the Committee turned with unflagging energy to the question of the standing defence of the Leeward Islands.

Sir Robert Southwell saw grave objections to the policy of the Committee,

I conceive Sir William Lockhart would have had a very hard tug of it if they had told him he came to ask more than was before by His Majesty's commands demanded by memorial from M. Colbert in London, and I know not how the Lords will be well able to answer it here unless a thing were done which is not probable, my best hope is that the paper may be lost or mislaid, or that M. Colbert may be out of the way<sup>5</sup>.

He suggested that Lord Berkeley be cautioned

not to enter more into these arguments than his Memorial required, because if upon debate they should call to mind the Memorial which had been here presented to M. Colbert about the 9 June 1673, they might oblige us to stand to the demands we made then, and not allow

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 691 (Minutes, 7. 10. 75).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 737 (Minutes, 9. 12. 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 738, 739, 743 (Minutes of 13, 14, 16 Dec.), 756 (report dated 23. 12. 75).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 757 (Minutes, 23. 12. 75), 774 (8. 1. 76), Nos. 756, 758-764 are papers collected by the Committee in their enquiry into this intricate matter.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 777 (Southwell—Coventry, 10. 1. 76).



us to run out into these larger ones, which we would now be at and which Sir William Lockhart did afterwards make<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the plan was merely to gain the necessary powers from France with as little discussion as possible, and in London to negotiate with the French ambassador and overwhelm him with the Book of Entries.

There is nothing so slow as formal diplomatic negotiation, and de Baas had shown great cunning when he persuaded Wheler to sign the luckless document referring the disputed articles for decision in Europe. Not only had the French postponed indefinitely the fulfilment of their part of the treaty, but they had established a claim, weak enough but useful as a pawn in diplomacy, for things such as payment for improvements, which were never contained in the original treaty. The negotiations did not progress at all. In September 1676 the Committee enquired if Montagu had sufficient instructions on this point as he was going to France, and received the discouraging answer that Berkeley had many times pressed the matter in vain<sup>2</sup>.

In May of the succeeding year, in a general report on the Leeward Islands, the Committee stated that no progress had been made with this business, but the prompt Order in Council instructing the ambassador to press the point was hardly worth the paper on which it was written<sup>3</sup>. In 1678 the Committee confess their complete failure,

we are quite at a loss to know what to propose more than we have done, but must needs say that your Majesty's honour as well as the interests of your languishing subjects is highly concerned therein<sup>4</sup>.

From this time the whole of the dispute becomes more and more academic and less of real importance to the inhabitants of St Christopher<sup>5</sup>. There old claimants had died, new planters

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 778 (Minutes same date).

<sup>2</sup> Colonial Entry Book 104 (C.O. 391/1), pp. 212-3 (Minutes of L.T.P., 16. 9. 76). This entry is not abstracted in the Calendar.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 224, 254 (report, 17. 5. 77), 292 (Order in Council, 8. 6. 77).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 679 (report, 25. 4. 78).

<sup>5</sup> Instructions were still issued to English ambassadors on this matter. H.M.C., vii, 262 a (instructions to Preston, 1682);

had settled on the King's lands, many French had sold or leased their plantations to the English, and with this change of relationships in the island new problems became of importance and old questions changed their form. Thus the quarrel about the lands becomes one, and by no means the most important, of a series of troubles and disputes which continually kept alive national ill-feeling and hatred, until the problem was finally solved by the English conquest of St Christopher.

## CHAPTER V

### FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE WEST INDIES

It is the sinfulest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a Plantation, once in Forwardnesse. For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

BACON, *Of Plantations*.

THE relationship between English and French in the West Indies from the Peace of Breda to the Revolution of 1688 was only partly governed by the various phases of international friendship or hostility in Europe. The planters had definite interests and special problems which often frustrated the most careful plans of the mother countries. After the Peace of Breda the machinations of Charles and Louis led to an unnatural alliance and the Dutch war of 1672, but in the islands all was suspicion between the so-called allies, and when the English dropped out of the war, they looked with no friendly eye on any French success. When the French were left to fight the Dutch by themselves, friction increased between the French and English until the war scare in 1678 found the two nations in the Leeward Islands only waiting for the word to fall upon each other. Then once again the policy of peace in the plantations reasserted itself and vigorous attempts were made to negotiate a general treaty of neutrality between English and French in the West Indies.

Colbert's conception of the "war of gold" led him in general to work for peace, for he knew well that trade could only develop fully under peace conditions. Holding the theory that the amount of trade in the world was stable, and the trade of his country could only increase at the expense of some other state, he looked at Holland, the great nation of middlemen, as his peculiar rival. The English, though possessing more shipping than the French, were not rivals, but really allies against the Dutchmen<sup>1</sup>. In Colbert's opinion the interests of French and

<sup>1</sup> Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vii<sup>1</sup>, 170. Colbert estimated that 20,000 ships carried the commerce of Europe. Of these he allowed 500-600 to France, 3000-4000 to England and 1500-1600 to Holland. Any extension of the French mercantile marine must mean a corresponding reduction of the Dutch shipping.

English in the West Indies were identical: both wished to develop their own colonies, to exclude the Dutch and to secure for their own shipping the carrying trade from their own plantations. From the point of view of commercial interest the English planters agreed with this outlook; they continually complained that war or rumours of war were ruinous to their plantations, and calculated in sugar the exact amount that had been lost owing to the necessity of mounting guard during a prolonged scare. This ideal, however, of friendship between French and English in the islands, was wrecked by friction among the planters themselves, and by the development of the international situation in Europe. In the Leeward Islands the hatred engendered by the war of 1666-7 was kept alive by the disputes over the execution of the Treaty of Breda and by the constant bickering of the two nations living side by side on St Christopher. The very alliance against the Dutch in 1672 led to friction and jealousy over the spoils, each nation fearing to see the other strengthen its position by securing Dutch possessions, while the struggle for supremacy in the sugar trade gave point to this rivalry. The development of affairs in Europe, however, finally ruined the possibility of permanent friendships in the West Indies. With the growth of the power of Louis XIV there grew a strong opposition to that power, and when William of Orange became King of England the struggle had to be fought out in the distant plantations as well as in Europe.

Each of the three English plantations in the West Indies had different neighbours with whom a cause of quarrel was never lacking. Barbados was the most secure, and though she kept a wary eye on the French her chief interest lay in Surinam, and the Dutch islands of Tobago and Curaçoa; Jamaica, deliberately planted in the enemy's country, was always at feud with the Spaniard, while the chief danger to the Leeward Islands came from the French and their allies the Indians. Thus the key to the French and English relations in the West Indies is found in the story of the Leeward Islands, and here alike in war and peace St Christopher with its divided allegiance is the strategic centre. Ever since the French capture of the island and its unwilling restoration, the English there had been much weaker than their

rivals. Thus the problem of defence was no easy one, while it was intensified by the height of the central mountain ridge which to a great extent cut the communications between the English of the two divisions. Wheler, however, had plans of his own for its defence. He realised that the English defeat in 1666 was due to the sudden attack by the French on men who had no rallying point, while the return attack by the English from Sandy Point had been held up by the stubborn defence of a French blockhouse. Profiting by this knowledge, he proposed to build a stone house for the governor in the Windward quarter, and to re-open the road through the mountains in order that the English of the two divisions might support each other in time of danger. Thus with the stronger forts to leeward he thought that the enemy could never expel him by a sudden attack before help came from the other islands. The governor's residence on the island would draw planters to settle there, and especially in the Windward and less defensible quarter<sup>1</sup>. This plan was never carried out, and though Stapleton was at first ordered to live in St Christopher, he finally made his home at Nevis whence he could cross in a few hours. The forts already standing on St Christopher were two small batteries which covered the roadsteads from Sandy Point and Stones Point, but the French had taken away their guns and refused to return them. Though Wheler had brought more cannon to replace them, the French deliberately flouted these signs of royal authority.

Their men of war sail under the King's fort (if so pitiable a durt pye may deserve the name of the King's fort) his pavilion up, and never strike till we have made a shot or two (and we can never hit because we have no platforms, nor no guns), and when demand was made for payment of the shot, a French Captain said he was sorry he did not duck the officer that came to ask it<sup>2</sup>.

It is no wonder after such an exhibition that Wheler looked forward with some relish to a fort he proposed to build on Pelican Point in Nevis.

It is a feather in the cap that all French who make St Christopher's

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 775 (Wheler—C.F.P., 6. 3. 72).

must haul close under this point and strike to the King's pavilion or else they will be drove to Leeward<sup>1</sup>.

In St Christopher however it was decided, soon after Stapleton's appointment, to build a strong fort on a little rise called Cleverley's, just under Brimstone Hill: it was a good spot as ships were often becalmed beneath it when making for Sandy Point Road<sup>2</sup>. Here a big fort was begun, but the planters had been too ambitious, and though the King gave £500 to help them, the fort was not finished for many years<sup>3</sup>. As late as 1684 the Deputy-Governor of St Christopher writes home: "Upon my first arrival I found the inhabitants had engaged themselves in an extraordinary task" in building this fort, which went on but slowly, through the poverty and small number of the inhabitants, although negroes were always working on it<sup>4</sup>.

After the Peace of Breda, Bridge's regiment had been left temporarily as a garrison in the West Indies, and four companies were stationed in the Leeward Islands. When Wheler was sent out as governor he was instructed to disband this regiment, but pointed out the need of some standing troops for the defence of St Christopher<sup>5</sup>. He was directed to raise two companies by voluntary enlistment from the disbanded regiment, and although at first only authorised for a year, this garrison was continued throughout Stapleton's governorship. Wheler had asked for a third company<sup>6</sup>, since rumour said that the French were sending out an efficient garrison, but Stapleton found it difficult enough to keep the two companies up to strength and to persuade the home government to furnish the promised pay.

It will not be of any credit that these should be the name of soldiers and they go naked, as some of them does we being mixed with French and Dutch upon that island to whom they may run in time of war<sup>7</sup>. I humbly beseech you on behalf of the officers and

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1201 (Stapleton—*C.T.P.*, 9. 1. 74). Brimstone Hill was itself the site of a famous fort in the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 808, 938; VI, 890; VII, 806, 996, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1536 (Hill—*L.T.P.*, 13. 2. 84).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 410 (Wheler's proposals, 9. 2. 71), 412 (report *C.F.P.*, 14. 2. 71)

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71); cf. 987.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1237 (i) (Stapleton—*C.T.P.*, 7. 3. 74).

soldiers of His Majesty's two standing companies in St Xp̄rs to move to His Majesty to be pleased to pay their arrears and to establish some fund for their future subsistence: they live in a most miserable condition among the poor inhabitants of St Xp̄rs who are not able to give them any subsistence: it is a disparagement rather than an honour to the nation, to have soldiers naked and starving in the eyes of the French who be mixed with us upon that island: they have officers and soldiers in good equipage and very well paid<sup>1</sup>.

As nothing came of his repeated petitions Stapleton in March 1675 sent home one of his lieutenants to plead the soldiers' cause in person, and since the Lords of Trade took the question up with their customary vigour, recruits were actually raised and sent out<sup>2</sup>. Money, too, was ordered, but the luckless lieutenant died while awaiting payment<sup>3</sup>. The recruits, however, arrived in a strange state:

in that condition that never soldiers were sent without arms, ammunition or money to subsist withall, not as much as a sword or the ammunition loaf to a place where there is no magazine nor any stores to be purchased. This careless provision for soldiers gave me one of the greatest confusions I ever had, and could I have procured arms and ammunition, and had no more in the world than what might purchase them, I had kept them on Nevis and not landed them upon St Xp̄rs until they were armed<sup>4</sup>.

Besides these two companies, St Christopher had seven companies of militia, containing some 300-400 men, though the numbers increased slightly as time went on. The militia were poor fighters, as they had shown when the French captured the island, and not to be relied on at that. Many of the dwellers in the English quarter were French, and at any threats of a Dutch attack joined the French militia in their national quarter, while the English militia companies were difficult to collect,

for in the exactest disciplined army unless it be to receive pay or bread, the third part of the number listed does not appear, what by

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 469 (Stapleton—*C.T.P.*, 17. 3. 75).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 469; v, 300, 312, 322, 335, 339-41, 404.

<sup>3</sup> They were paid up to June 1676 but immediately fell into arrears again. *C.S.P.*, iv, 592-8 (journal of *L.T.P.*, June 1675), 725-7 (Dec. 1675), 955; v, 233 (receipt, May 1677).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 582 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 19. 1. 78). He sent to Tobago, which had recently been captured by the French from the Dutch, to try to obtain arms, but without success.

sickness cowardice or false musters, much less may be expected from militia upon service<sup>1</sup>.

Such then was the strength of the English at the danger-point, St Christopher. The French were much stronger, for in 1671 their total white population amounted to 3652 persons<sup>2</sup>. The French were also much better supported from home. After the Treaty of Breda the regular soldiers had been sent to France and disbanded, while the militia were sent to their respective islands<sup>3</sup>. It was soon realised that a permanent garrison was necessary for the West Indies, and eight companies were kept there: they were quartered in the various islands and orders were given for the garrisons to be changed at regular intervals<sup>4</sup>. In sea-power, too, the French were vastly superior. With the failure of the West India Company in 1672 the policy of Colbert became one of encouraging the private French trader and rigidly excluding the foreigner. Since the Treaty of Breda a French fleet was continually kept in the West Indies, and, as the policy of trade exclusiveness developed, a squadron was sent annually to maintain a rigid patrol<sup>5</sup>. The coming and going of these fleets, and the movements of the French convoys rendered necessary by the Dutch trade-destroyers, kept the Leeward Islands in a perpetual state of alarm. There, if anywhere, it was necessary for defence that the English should retain the command of the sea, but for several years the governor was left without a boat of any sort to carry him about his government. When at last his remonstrances were successful he only received a ketch, the 'Quaker', "commanded by a mere brute, unfit to live among men<sup>6</sup>." From 1677 to 1682 a ketch was usually stationed at the Leeward Islands, while after that date Stapleton's continual recommendations bore fruit, and a frigate was despatched

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 1152 (Stapleton's answers, 22. 11. 76); cf. Wheeler's information, III, 680, 987; see also IV, 956, 1152.

<sup>2</sup> Mims, p. 336, quoting from French documents.

<sup>3</sup> Du Tertre, IV, 336.

<sup>4</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 625; cf. *C.S.P.*, v, 636.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 398-402 (instructions to Treillebois, 1. 10. 67), 453-4, 459 (letters to de Baas), 566 (C.—de Baas, 5. 7. 73; annual squadrons), 611, etc.; cf. Mims, cap. IX.

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 603 (Stapleton—Blathwayt, 16. 2. 78).



annually to the islands<sup>1</sup>. Thus all through this period the French were superior in the Leeward Islands, both by land and sea.

There can be little doubt that after the Treaty of Breda both Louis and Charles wished their colonists to forget the war and live amicably together. The delay in handing over the sovereignty of St Christopher was not due to double-dealing on the part of the French court, but to the schemes of de la Barre in the West Indies, for though Colbert wished to purchase the island, emphatic orders for its return were readily issued. Louis' secret schemes led him to wish for friendship between the two nations in the West Indies. Careful orders were issued for the behaviour of French fleets<sup>2</sup>, while the rigid order forbidding foreign vessels to approach French islands was secretly modified in favour of the English<sup>3</sup>. When the Dutch war of 1672 was near, Colbert showed himself most anxious to settle all disputes, and desired special instructions for mutual co-operation to be sent to the national governors<sup>4</sup>. On the English side official feeling was the same, Wheler was definitely ordered to live in good amity with his neighbours<sup>5</sup>, and there was a distinct lack of energy in pushing the claims of the St Christopher refugees<sup>6</sup>.

In the West Indies, however, affairs were developing beyond the control of the home governments: the unsettled claims of the ejected planters and new disputes about the old rights of way, and claims to share the Salt Ponds which had been guaranteed by the old treaties, kept alive the ill-feeling<sup>7</sup>. A quarrel about runaway negroes had nearly led to an outbreak, but the matter passed off without bloodshed<sup>8</sup>. The alliance against the Dutch in 1672, instead of drawing the planters together, served only to emphasise their rivalry. Thus when Stapleton, on being appointed governor, seized Statia in 1672, the French were not pleased. Despite the defensible nature of the island Stapleton

<sup>1</sup> The first to arrive was H.M.S. 'Francis' in 1683, and she was shortly afterwards lost at sea. *C.S.P.*, vi, 1504, 1614.

<sup>2</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 399 (instructions to Treillebois, 1. 10. 67).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 491 (Colbert—C. de Croissy, 5. 7. 70).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III<sup>1</sup>, 431-2 (same, 11. 5. 72).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 435 (King—Wheler, 5. 3. 71).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. the laying aside of Slingsby's report in 1673, see p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1203.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III, 748 (Wheler—C.F.P., 3. 2. 72).

had no difficult task, for the Dutch knew that the French would soon be at hand, and preferred to surrender to the English rather than to their neighbours<sup>1</sup>. The French were chagrined at the promptitude of Stapleton, for Statia lay just off their Capsterre quarter, and its possession by the English put the French in St Christopher at a great disadvantage if trouble broke out<sup>2</sup>. In May 1673 a Dutch fleet under Evertson arrived in the West Indies. After making a demonstration against Montserrat, they met with a warm reception when trying to carry off some shipping from Nevis Road. "We fired several shots at them and so smartlie that we could perceive people going overboard with plugs to stop their leaks." They gained some small advantage by recapturing Statia after a heavy bombardment, but it was a barren victory, for the English promptly retook the island, once again outstripping their so-called allies<sup>3</sup>. When early in 1674 Parliament forced the King to make peace, the Dutch refrained from demanding back their captured islands, as they had a right to do, fearing that the French would at once seize them, and they were held in trust by the English until 1682<sup>4</sup>. During the rest of the war, the English sympathy was chiefly with the Dutch, and French and English feelings were strained almost to breaking point. Ruyter's failure before Martinique in 1675 caused a feeling of annoyance among the English, for as the French had been successful that would but "give them new occasions of vapouring<sup>5</sup>."

Meanwhile in St Christopher the position in the English quarters was very complicated. Those French who had squatted on plantations which the English owners had not sold but merely deserted, had been recalled by the French governor under instructions from Colbert<sup>6</sup>. These waste lands were

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 891 (Stapleton—Arlington, 13. 7. 72). He also seized Saba and Tortola.

<sup>2</sup> See Wheler's remarks, *C.S.P.*, III, 680.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1109 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 18. 6. 73).

<sup>4</sup> The first demand was made in 1679 (*C.S.P.*, v, 1143), but there was a technical error. Cf. *C.S.P.*, IV, 1152; v, 260, 299, 404, 1358, 1620; VI, 6, 80, 189, 460 (Statia surrendered; Tortola kept, 6. 4. 82), etc.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1333 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 23. 7. 74). The fear of the French strengthening themselves by seizing Surinam; *ib.* 1201.

<sup>6</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 454-5 (C.—de Baas, 13. 6. 69), 460 (*ib.* 15. 9. 69).

granted out to new settlers as they came, and Stapleton advised that as so much time had now elapsed no old claims to these lands should be recognised<sup>1</sup>. Most of the French who had purchased English estates still remained despite every attempt to dispossess them, and as they were well armed and looked to the French governor as their head they formed a very disconcerting element in the population. Some of these French owners lived in the French quarter, letting their estates, but many at first actually resided within English territory. There had been some doubt as to whether these resident French should take the oath of allegiance, but though this was duly administered to most, very little trust could be placed in them<sup>2</sup>. The French absentee proprietors had to pay any levies raised in the island, but took no oath and were not expected to send their servants to serve in the militia<sup>3</sup>.

This perilous state of affairs was regarded with nervous dread by the English of St Christopher, and they set themselves to remedy it; the French had not been driven out by the Treaty of Breda, they were to be expelled by the burdens imposed by the local assembly. A law had already been made forbidding the alienation of land to foreigners<sup>4</sup>, but this could only prevent affairs getting worse; what was needed was some means of getting rid of all the French servants and hangers-on, who by their very numbers were a menace. An Act was therefore passed in June 1672, providing that all French other than land-owners should return to the French quarters. Against this Act various French residents petitioned, and as an act of grace certain "persons of quality" were allowed two servants apiece, but these had to be registered and bonds were taken for their good behaviour<sup>5</sup>. Formal protests of the French commissioners that the Act was contrary to the Peace of Breda, were, however, treated more firmly. Rumour got about that the French Council had decided to enforce their claims by force of arms, and the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1077 (minutes Council S.C., 24. 4. 73), 1201 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 9. 1. 74).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 956 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 20. 6. 76).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1201 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 9. 1. 74).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 832 (Acts of S.C., 12. 6. 72).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1036 (minutes Council S.C., 21. 2. 73).

English planters prepared for a struggle, but the crisis, like so many others, passed off quietly<sup>1</sup>. At the same time Stapleton was anxious to attract to St Christopher all the English who were living on the French islands.

A very considerable number of your Majesty's subjects lives amongst the French since Cromwell's time who would willingly draw off if they might be permitted off carrying their goods.

This was refused by the French governors, and Stapleton characterised the refusal as contrary to the law of nations<sup>2</sup>.

There was, however, one section of the French who were treated more favourably than the rest. Many Huguenots had bought estates in the English quarter, and when the island was restored they besought Wheler for leave to send for a minister. This he allowed on condition that they should use the English liturgy, and they consented, although they knew of no minister conversant with it<sup>3</sup>. They had intended to build a church, but the law against selling land to aliens caused a difficulty, and so the "Protestant congregation living at St Christopher's under the French government" petitioned Stapleton to allow them to buy a plot of land on which to build their church, and for license to send for a minister. This was duly granted by the Council of the island, providing the meetings created no disturbance<sup>4</sup>.

With the failure of Charles' policy of open alliance with France and the accession of Danby to power, the jealousy and hatred of France found full expression in England and was quickly echoed in the West Indies. In May 1674 there were many rumours of war and all arrangements were completed for sending 1000 men to the help of St Christopher from the other islands<sup>5</sup>. Next year the report of a great French fleet at

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1048 (minutes Council S.C., 15. 3. 73). French residents were also discouraged by having soldiers billeted on them.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 982 (Stapleton—King, 10. 12. 72).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 591 (Wheler—Canon Durel, 20. 7. 71).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1042 (minutes Council S.C., 3. 3. 73). For religious toleration in the islands, cf. *C.S.P.*, III, 398 (instructions to Wheler); cf. Colbert's policy, Clément, III<sup>a</sup>, 522–3; cf. Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vii<sup>1</sup>, 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1273 (minutes Council S.C., 11. 5. 74), 1276 (*ib.* Nevis, 14. 5. 74).

Madeira caused alarm at Barbados, until it was recognised as the annual convoy<sup>1</sup>. The French, too, began to enforce a harsh interpretation of their orders to prevent all smuggling, refusing the time-honoured demand for wood and water made by an English ship at Martinique<sup>2</sup>. In 1676 as the Dutch were threatening the West Indies, Louis XIV decided to send out Count d'Estrées, Vice-Admiral of France, with a large fleet. He was successful in re-capturing Cayenne, and during 1677 his movements caused much alarm among the English who were very unprotected at sea<sup>3</sup>. Towards the end of the year he suddenly appeared off Barbados, and enabled Governor Atkins to show him that he was well prepared by land whatever he might lack by sea.

I had...sent His Majesty's frigate to the fleet to bring me word what they were, if it were M. d'Estrées to compliment him from me and to let him know that if he wanted anything this island could afford, he might command it, being night before the frigate got up to them they mistook her for a merchantman, an ordinary error that always hath attended that frigate, the 'Constant Warwick'<sup>4</sup>.

The crisis reached its head early in 1678. Stapleton had already been warned to prepare to defend his islands as best he could<sup>5</sup>, and Colbert was holding a ship ready to take the news to d'Estrées.

Vous aurez sçu, par les vaisseux commandés par le sieur de la Vigerie, qui sont partis de Brest, l'estat auquel estoit alors l'Angleterre; et, comme il y avoit toutes les apparences d'une déclaration prompte et brusque contre la France, j'avois fait tenir par ordre du Roy un vaisseau tout prest à Rochefort pour vous porter les mesmes lettres, il y a deja plus d'un mois; mais, comme le parlement d'Angleterre n'a pas esté aussy vite dans ces résolutions qu'il y avoit lieu de le croire et qu'il paroissoit mesme que le roy d'Angleterre vouloit, ledit vaisseau a attendu jusqu'à présent mes dépeches pour partir<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 690, 707 (Atkins' letters, Oct. and Nov. 1675).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 706 (Stapleton—his brother, 3. 11. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 611 (C.—d'Estrées, 11th Aug. and 16th Sept. 1676). *C.S.P.*, v, 48 (Atkins—L.T.P., 8. 2. 77), etc.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 498 (Atkins—L.T.P., 28. 11. 77).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 464 (King—Stapleton, 30. 10. 77), 657 (*ib.* 16. 4. 78).

<sup>6</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 626–8 (C.—d'Estrées, 11. 3. 78); cf. 628–31.

In the Leeward Islands Stapleton could do no more than await events.

I have repeated to the Right Honourable the Lords of the Council for Trade and Plantations whatever had offered to my knowledge, tending to the security of the islands. I can but pay my duty with my own person when any occasion offers for their defence<sup>1</sup>.

The difficulty of communicating with England added to the state of tension: Stapleton was "no less zealous than ignorant of the changes and stratagems of state<sup>2</sup>."

It was most important to receive timely news of the outbreak of war, for whichever nation heard first would assuredly attempt a surprise attack in St Christopher<sup>3</sup>. D'Estrées with his fleet hung around Martinique and this unusual delay caused general alarm.

His design was given out for Puerto Rico or Carasol, the face of affairs at home does in my weak conception stay him so long in harbour or the waiting for orders to give the blow here or at Barbados<sup>4</sup>.

It was expected that d'Estrées would visit St Christopher in March 1678, and the planters there hurried on with their fort at Cleverly's. Antigua, warned by Stapleton, built a stockade for the protection of non-combatants<sup>5</sup>, while at Nevis the preparations consisted chiefly of shore-defences to prevent a landing. "I am day and night at the seaside with all the white men in arms and some negroes with lances and all the rest completing our trenches<sup>6</sup>." Stapleton himself was in great straits, for if he concentrated his men on St Christopher, beside the danger of famine there he laid all the other islands open to attack. His enemy held the command of the sea and could attack any island and Stapleton would be unable to send any help. This division of forces was most dangerous, and even in

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 564 (Stapleton—Williamson, 8. 1. 78).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 588 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 24. 1. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 657 (instructions to Stapleton, 16. 4. 78). Clément, 111<sup>2</sup>, 672-8 (instructions to d'Estrées, 11. 3. 78).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 604 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 2. 78).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 599, 620 (minutes Council S.C., 11th, 25th Feb., 5th Mar. 1678), 634 (*ib.* Antigua, 26. 3. 78).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, v, 642 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 30. 3. 78).

Nevis, Stapleton was forced by public opinion to detach a body of men to guard the non-combatants in the Windward quarter, although he would rather have had his men concentrated under his own hand<sup>1</sup>.

The French admiral had summoned 1000 buccaneers to meet him at St Christopher, and Stapleton was amazed that there was no English fleet to uphold the honour of its flag.

I hope God will give our men conduct and valour, I do not question with his divine assistance to make many of them fall before they come [through] the surf of the sea, and although we are the lesser number, destitute of men of war and that strength must be dispersed not only to the respective islands but in each island in regard of the vast tract of ground we have to defend, yet I hope we may preserve the King's right<sup>2</sup>.

On 18th April, just as Stapleton was most despondent, the French general de Blénac sent and offered to negotiate with him for a Treaty of Neutrality, but the sudden appearance of d'Estrée's fleet delayed Stapleton's letter reporting this proposal<sup>3</sup>. The much dreaded visit of the French fleet passed off without incident. Unlike the commanders of recent French squadrons, d'Estrées behaved with all courtesy. Passing under Wheler's fort on Pelican Point, "he lowered his topsails more than half-mast down, when he came near the fort (he fired never a gun) his striking was enough there being no more required of a merchantman<sup>4</sup>." D'Estrées also promised to hand over two English subjects among the buccaneers, and the negotiations for the Treaty of Neutrality continued. Stapleton, however, did not relax his guard, and after many false rumours news came on 27th April that the fleet had set sail. This was "confirmed by some sails which were up by the Nag's Head in St Xp̄rs. some 3 miles from this shore, the moon favouring very much<sup>5</sup>," but the wind being southerly they could not easily make the island, and about sunset stood away. The disappearance

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 604, 697 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18. 2. 78 and 2. 5. 78). They feared an Indian raid.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 642 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 30. 3. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 665, 687 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18 and 26. 4. 78).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 665 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18. 4. 78).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 697 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 2. 5. 78); cf. 665, 688, 690.

of the fleet caused yet more rumours and alarms, but the end of the crisis came with dramatic suddenness.

Upon the 3 or 4 day of May last as Count d'Estrées was sailing with his whole fleet for Curaçoa, about 8 of the clock at night the Admiral himself ran ashore [on the] Isle of Aves with two frigates, who finding themselves aground fired three guns apiece, which the rest of the frigates mistaking and believing it to be the signal for a Council of War, they all crowded in<sup>1</sup>.

A few were saved by a small privateer who put about and gave the warning, but the wreck was decisive. What was left of the fleet split up, the privateers going about their own business and d'Estrées taking seven ships back to France. The very guns even were saved by the Dutch as the French found to their disgust when they came to look for them. Thus a fleet which had numbered some thirty-five sail was destroyed, to the immense relief of the English in the West Indies<sup>2</sup>.

The proposal for the Treaty of Neutrality was, of course, no new idea, but rather the revival of a very old arrangement between the two nations on St Christopher. An agreement of this sort had been in force at the beginning of the war of 1666, and it was the general opinion of men, wise after the event, that the English had courted disaster by beginning an attack on their neighbours without direct orders. The losses in those two days of fighting were immense, but the losses of peace were as great. The waste of time and money, the use of negroes on fortifications instead of plantations, and the anxious dread of an attack, were felt most heavily by the English<sup>3</sup>, but although the French had the upper hand there can be no doubt that among them, too, there was a general feeling against the useless expense, while the keeping of large fleets and payment of garrisons was a constant drain on the royal funds. Colbert's policy had always been one of peace in the plantations, and now once again an attempt was made to secure this. Soon after the restoration of the island to the English, all the early pacts between the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 718 (statement by the master of the 'Advice' sloop, 1. 6. 78). Jeaffreson MSS. I, 221-5 describes the state of anxiety in Nevis very vividly.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 690, 729, 1645-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 687 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 4. 78); *ib.* Stapleton's letters of 1678 *passim*.



inhabitants had been revived, but a suggestion to ratify again the old treaty of neutrality had fallen through<sup>1</sup>. Now, however, when on April 18th, 1678, in the midst of their apprehension of an immediate attack, the English received an offer of a new Treaty of Neutrality, they could scarce believe their good fortune.

Just now as I am going to conclude, notwithstanding their great preparations, two messengers came to me to assure me that the French General M. le Count de Blenac has empowered M. le Chevalier de St Lawrents, Governor of the French part of St X̄prs to treat with me or my Deputy upon St X̄prs for the continuance of the friendship between the two nations here by sea and land, I judge it not imprudent or dishonourable (I having no fleet to transfer me to relieve St X̄prs or any other island) to embrace their offer because it tends to the security of the islands under my government and chiefly to the preservation of His Majesty's right, which will be endangered if not totally lost, by a devastation of all sugar works, as well as the loss of all negroes which 20 years peace will not repair<sup>2</sup>.

Rumours of this offer were in the air, for on the previous day the Council of Antigua had passed a resolution begging Stapleton to ask the King to include that island in the peace to be made there with the French<sup>3</sup>. Stapleton wrote home for the necessary commission sending a copy of the French governor's powers, but meanwhile he determined to take a bold step and act on his own responsibility<sup>4</sup>. Relying on the general terms of the 19th article of his instructions which empowered him to do anything in his power for the good of the islands under his government except only to declare war, he issued a commission on 23rd April to Abednego Matthews, his deputy-governor of St Christopher, to meet the French commissioner and conclude with him the proposed treaty<sup>5</sup>. After a little negotiation this was done, and a treaty concluded which bound all the French islands under de Blénac's authority on the one side and all the islands of Stapleton's government on the other. As

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1023 (minutes Council S.C., 15. 1. 73). There was a similar attempt in 1676. Jeaffreson MSS. 1, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 665 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 4. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 662 (minutes Council Antigua, 17. 4. 78).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 687 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 4. 78).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 700 and 744 (instructions); *C.S.P.*, v, 741 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 29. 6. 78), with enclosures.

Stapleton's powers, however, did not seem as full as those of de Blénac, in whose instructions the concluding of this treaty was definitely ordered, it was arranged that the English should give six hostages, the French only four. One hostage of each nationality was to go home to the other's court to solicit the confirmation of this treaty. In accordance with this arrangement Capt. Crispe of the Council of St Christopher sailed for Europe to go to France. Stapleton sent the treaty by Morton, a Nevis councillor, with a strong letter of explanation and approval, backed by petitions from the assemblies of St Christopher and Nevis<sup>1</sup>.

While Stapleton had shown such initiative in pushing matters through on his own responsibility, his former letter had reached home and a commission was passed giving him the necessary powers to negotiate. He was told with unconscious irony to be sure to examine the French general's powers and to make certain that they were as full as his own that there might be no subsequent disputes at home<sup>2</sup>. The actual treaty reached England in August, but the Committee were too busy to deal with the matter at once. "They have all lain before their Lordships but by reason of this extraordinary conjuncture no leisure has been yet found for their perusal<sup>3</sup>." The English government had welcomed the idea of a treaty, for it would relieve them of the necessity of providing for the defence of the islands, but hitches occurred in the attempts at ratification. The French government quite naturally objected to the fact that Barbados and Jamaica were not included in the treaty. They could never agree to exempt the weakest of the English plantations from attack, and yet leave themselves liable to attack from the stronger islands. Thus Crispe found that they would only ratify the treaty on the inclusion of all the English West Indies within its scope. Morton, who had just been knighted, petitioned that this alteration might be made, but the Lords of Trade thought the French demand unreasonable, and hoping by delay to induce them to accept

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 741 (enclosures, 29. 6. 78). Christopher Jeaffreson copied this treaty into his letter-book. Jeaff. MSS. 1, 231 (9/19. 5. 78).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 745 (commission, 1. 7. 78), 750 (Coventry—Stapleton, 4. 7. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 783 (minutes L.T.P., 27. 8. 78), 784, 842 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 8. 12. 78).

less, postponed the matter until Crispé's return from France<sup>1</sup>. A few days later Crispé explained that the French based their demands on the ground that de Blénac, who had but recently arrived in St Christopher, thought that all the English islands were under Stapleton's government. The wording of de Blénac's instructions seems to show that the French government had actually intended this wide treaty<sup>2</sup>. The Lords of Trade, after a careful reading of the treaty, took dislike to a clause that ran,

that the old concords, as likewise all that hath been done by virtue and in explication of the Treaty of Breda, shall be observed in its full contents, excepting the Act of Trade which is forbidden by their Majesties<sup>3</sup>.

Fearing that by ratifying this clause they would renounce the many claims which had so long been pressed in vain at the French court, the Committee determined to alter its wording, and to do this they sheltered under a technicality. It was impossible, they argued, to confirm a treaty if anything were added to it, hence as the French desired the inclusion of the other English islands, a fresh treaty should be negotiated here, and into this draft treaty they managed to smuggle their amended clause<sup>4</sup>.

A small committee of five was appointed and empowered by the King to conclude this treaty, and they met the French ambassador on 25th July, 1679. He, however, was cautious and alleged that he had no powers except to confirm the original agreement with the French additions; the new treaty was referred back to France<sup>5</sup>. Later in the year the French ambassador was again approached; but he had been well coached from home:

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1007 (petition), 1010 (minutes L.T.P., 31. 5. 79).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 741 (x) (extract from de Blénac's instructions). "His Majesty permits to the said S<sup>r</sup> Earle of Blénac to agree with the Governor of the English Moiety of the island St Xprs which belongs to that nation, and of the other islands that belong to them, on a Treaty of peace and good correspondence to be maintained although there should be rupture between the two nations in Europe."

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 741 (ix) (treaty).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1019 (minutes L.T.P., 12. 6. 79), 1021 (Order of Council, 13. 6. 79), 1043 (mems. of L.T.P., 2. 7. 79).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1065-6 (minutes L.T.P., 16, 18. 7. 79), 1076 (mem. of committee, 25. 7. 79).

after apologising for having accepted the new draft too hastily, he explained that the instructions he had received from France laid it down that as there was peace between the two crowns there was no need of a new treaty which implied a breach. He offered to confirm the old treaty if extended to all the islands. This clever move on the part of the French was met by a similar piece of jugglery on the part of the English. It was argued that "a ratification could only settle and confirm what had been first agreed upon and could not extend to new matter<sup>1</sup>." This double-dealing led to a deadlock, the treaty was hung up and the Lords of Trade were very apprehensive how the news would be received in the Leeward Islands<sup>2</sup>.

During 1680 there were rumours that the treaty was being pushed in France, but nothing came of it<sup>3</sup>, and early next year Stapleton reported that he had just heard that de Blénac had ample powers for adding Barbados and Jamaica to the original treaty. He asked for similar powers for himself<sup>4</sup>. The Lords of Trade, however, were evidently determined to keep the whole affair in their own hands, and desired to make sure of the necessary alteration of wording in the clause which referred to the Treaty of Breda. Accordingly they advised the King that although Stapleton had acted correctly in negotiating on his own responsibility, since it was now proposed to include islands that were not under his government, the whole affair ought to be negotiated in Europe<sup>5</sup>. It was ordered that the French ambassador should be approached, but no progress was made, and when in 1682 Stapleton explained how anxious the French were to hear how the treaty was faring in Europe, it was recorded that since the refusal of the French ambassador to treat anew nothing had been done in the matter<sup>6</sup>. Once again the duplicity and delay of international diplomacy had hindered the settlement of plantation problems.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1151 (minutes L.T.P., 15. 10. 79).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1158 (report L.T.P., 22. 10. 79). They presented estimates prepared the previous year and got a grant of £1500 for fortifications in the Leeward Islands.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1369 (Stapleton—Coventry, 18. 5. 80).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 2. 1. 81).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 44 (report L.T.P., 11. 3. 81).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 258, 447, 502, 542.

These negotiations however were not entirely without fruit, and though no treaty was concluded until after Stapleton's governorship had ended, the final agreement was really the outcome of his dealings with de Blénac. After his return to England in 1685, Stapleton petitioned the Lords of Trade on behalf of the Treaty of Neutrality, and a petition from merchants and planters was also organised<sup>1</sup>. Negotiations were again set on foot, and in December 1687 a general treaty was signed, guaranteeing peace in all the French and English plantations in America until January 1689<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile all disputes and questions of the delimitation of boundaries and frontiers were to be settled by a joint commission in England<sup>3</sup>. To such an all-embracing agreement had grown the little neutrality clause in the first treaty made in 1627 between Warner and D'Es-nambuc at St Christopher.

After his success in negotiating the treaty in 1678, Stapleton made a new suggestion which really went to the root of the matter and was very similar to that which finally settled the whole problem<sup>4</sup>. The original division of St Christopher had been reasonable enough when French and English needed mutual protection against the Spaniard. Now, with the growth of numbers and the jealousy and rivalry between the planters, it had become absurd. Both French and English recognised this: "...je ne doute pas que vous ne reconnoissiez à l'œil combien il importe au repos de François qui les habitent d'en éloigner les estrangers," wrote Colbert to Pelissier, Director of the West India Company in June 1670<sup>5</sup>. The French had made several unsuccessful efforts to buy out the English, but this arrangement would have been nearly as bad. Nevis and St Christopher were practically one island, and should be owned by the same nation. Stapleton now reversed the former suggestion and advised that the French should be offered compensation for their share of St Christopher.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, VII, 497 (Stapleton's petition, 14. 12. 85), 521 (merchants' petition, n.d.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VII, 1001, 1062, 1074, 1123 and 1543 (the treaty).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, VII, 1681, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The final cession of S.C. to the English by the Peace of Ryswick in 1713.

<sup>5</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 486.

...If there be any Treaty on foot relating to these islands that something may be offered to buy the French parts of St Xprs. The exchange might be made for Montserrat which is next to them... I pray my Lord excuse the presumption occasioned by the true sense I have that our neighbours and we can never cordially agree upon that island<sup>1</sup>.

The Lords of Trade welcomed the suggestion and instructed Stapleton to sound public opinion among the French,

forasmuch as we do not yet understand whether the French Governor and inhabitants of St Christopher's may be inclined to accept this exchange, without which we believe no resolution will be taken in France<sup>2</sup>.

Stapleton wrote hopefully,

that interest which governs most men that have not true principles of loyalty may bring them to exchange or live under the English government which is so sweet and easy, they pay 120 lbs sugar, capital rent to their King per annum, for themselves servants and slaves, and 4 lbs in France for every 100 lbs weight of the produce of their Plantations there transported and we only the 4½ per cent. here and eighteenpence at home<sup>3</sup>.

But the matter was dropped, and the question which now appeared so near a peaceful solution was not settled without further bloodshed.

Relations between French and English did not improve after the signing of the treaty in 1678, and became actually worse after it had been disowned at home. De Blénac, the new French governor who had arrived in 1678, was not like de la Barre "furious and hasty and very much addicted to great words<sup>4</sup>." Compared with the crafty de Baas he was straightforward and honest, treating with Stapleton openly and not encouraging flagrant illegalities or insults. Yet even de Blénac could hardly be expected to look with any favour on all the old English claims

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1235 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18. 12. 79); cf. French memorial, du Tertre, iv, end of volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1320 (report *L.T.P.*, 8. 3. 80), 1324 (*L.T.P.*—Stapleton, 12. 3. 80).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 188 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 26. 7. 81).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 791.

which Stapleton promptly laid before him on their first meeting<sup>1</sup>. The friction on St Christopher was brought to a head by de Blénac's policy in trying to stop the immemorial custom of trading between the French and English settlers on the island. This trade, which was rendered easy by the common use of the highways, had been usually winked at, but de Blénac began to interfere with the English as they passed along the roads in the French quarters. A test case arose in April 1679 when the French officials seized a mare laden with sugar as she was passing from the French quarter of Basseterre into the English leeward quarter at Palmetto Point. The French claimed that this was a case of smuggling sugar to Statia, and declared the capture forfeit in their own courts. Stapleton claimed that the case should at least have been referred to the National Commissioners, instead of being heard before a partisan tribunal.

In short my Lords they expect a declaration to be made of all goods passing through their ground, or an entry as we term it, which would make the King's people subjects to them, which declaration shall never be made whilst I am concerned unless commanded thereto by my sovereign or your Lordships<sup>2</sup>.

When Stapleton secured a meeting with de Blénac in December, after the hurricane season, Patoulet, the new intendant, had arrived. He and de Blénac now wished to define and standardise the joint-rights on St Christopher by a new treaty, which should enable them to examine and control all traffic passing through their quarters. De Blénac met Stapleton courteously, and promptly ordered the restoration of an English ship which the French had confiscated for anchoring off the Salt Ponds. Stapleton was then presented with the new treaty. This document told against the English in nearly every clause: in the definition of French highways the Salt Pond roads, of which the English claimed a part, were included by implication. Liberty to transport goods across the highways of the other nation was allowed provided due declaration were made at the frontiers, but the Windward English were only allowed to go through Basseterre, and the French through the English Leeward

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1235 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 12. 79, with enclosures).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1024 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 6. 79; cf. 963).

quarter. Stapleton regarded this as an ingenious trick to hamper the Windward English, whose shortest route to their usual shipping place at Sandy Point lay through Capsterre: this was now closed to them and they were forced to go twenty miles instead of eight and were tempted on their way to leave their sugar at Basseterre to be shipped by the French. There can be no doubt that de Blénac's main object in drafting this treaty was to put down the international trade on the island, but Stapleton had too much experience of negotiating with the French. After examining the whole document with a very critical eye, Stapleton refused it, and sent de Blénac a draft agreement which asserted the English claim to half the Salt Ponds, and threw all the highways open for common use without the necessity of making a declaration: passes might be given if the officer was ready at hand, but there was to be no delay. These proposals were of no value to de Blénac, and he refused them, though Stapleton, with an Irishman's persuasiveness, had sent it ready signed<sup>1</sup>.

No further negotiations of any importance took place, and the two nations continued to live side by side in mutual distrust, and continual preparations for war. At sea the insolence of French ships continued.

There is hardly a week passes but some proud Frenchman or other comes by and will neither salute nor lower topsails until by our guns forced to it, or bear off, which is a great charge to the country in powder and ball, which is not begrudged did the shots take place. We want half a dozen of the longest sackers which is humbly offered to your Lordship's procuring<sup>2</sup>.

Stapleton recognised clearly the meaning of this refusal to salute the flag: "they aim at nothing less in these parts than what the crown of England has always had in the British seas, and in most seas hitherto<sup>3</sup>." The French no less than the English knew the danger point. "Their show is always against

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1235 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 12. 79, with enclosures). Mims, p. 218, describes this negotiation from French sources. The claims of the English based on the Treaty of Breda were paraded as pawns in the game. Stapleton was quite ready to drop most of them if he could come to terms.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1418 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 1. 7. 80).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1252 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 5. 1. 80).



the Leeward Islands, and their real design doubtless in case of Breach<sup>1</sup>." Thus affairs drifted slowly towards the catastrophe.

During the crisis of 1678, there was drawn up in England a document explaining the advantages of a policy of alliance between England, Spain and the United Provinces, against the French.

It will import exceedingly the interest both of England and Spain, that the French be expelled the West Indies, which probably may be effected by 16 sail of good men-of-war and one regiment of 1600 soldiers to be made two regiments at Barbados all well commanded and constantly supplied.

If the French were not expelled, they would either expel the English by force of arms or ruin them by competition. Spain was to be told that England desired no new colonies, because of the drain on her population. Spain, too, was to be paymaster of the expedition, and two-thirds should be paid in America, because of the advantage of the exchange.

It is the great interest of the English to make themselves sole masters of the West Indian commerce, which they may do by taking this conjuncture to ruin the French colonies before they are too strong and now that the Spanish and Dutch will assist, neither of which can be concurrent with us in these commodities.

Cordial co-operation with Spain

...might in time by our being honest and useful to them take off that ill-opinion they have had of us, and make us enter into their affairs and unite with them, which would be infinitely to the nations advantage and satisfaction<sup>2</sup>.

This policy was not adopted in 1678, but it was revived in 1689, and with its revival there ends the Restoration period in the history of the Leeward Islands.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1463 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 27. 7. 80).

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 574 (Considerations about the Present affairs of the West Indies, 7. 4. 78).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CARIBS

Of other nations they [the Caribs] say the English and Spaniards are not good at all, that the Dutch have as much good as a man's hand as far as the elbow; but like true barbarians, that the French are as both arms; which they stretch out to show the greatness of their worth.

J. OLDMIXON, *British Empire in America*, 1741.

WHEN the Spaniards first explored the West Indies they found most of the islands of the Lesser Antilles inhabited by Caribs. These Indians, though slightly built, were a fierce and warlike people, full of cunning, and they were quick to oppose the Spaniards when they tried to land. The Arawaks, a more peaceful people, who lived in the Greater Antilles and shared with the Caribs the coast of Guiana and the Main, showed themselves friendly to the newcomers; but on the islands their numbers rapidly dwindled after the Spaniards had established their settlements<sup>1</sup>. In the early days both French and English settled on islands still inhabited by Caribs, with whom they soon came to blows. The first agreement between the French and English of St Christopher provided for concerted action against the Caribs, if it became necessary, and this agreement was soon translated into action. Fearing an Indian attack, the settlers determined to forestall their enemy, and falling on them by surprise, succeeded after a stiff fight in expelling them from the island<sup>2</sup>. Some few, however, were retained as slaves. The Indians soon disappeared from all the Leeward Islands, but in the larger islands settled by the French it was different. Grand-terre at Guadeloupe was long inhabited by Indians, while Martinique was divided between the natives and the French. The Caribs held the Windward part of the island, the French settling in the more protected quarter to Leeward. In Grenada the Caribs were exterminated after a sharp struggle, by the

<sup>1</sup> Two pictures from Gottfried's *Reisen*, showing the different reception of the Spaniards by the Caribs and Arawaks, are reproduced in J. Rodway, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*.

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, I, 4-6.

cruelty of du Parquet, the proprietor of Martinique, and the French were successfully established in their place<sup>1</sup>. The first English attempt to settle on St Lucia, an island only used by the Indians as a fishing post, failed through the determined hostility of the Indians of the neighbouring islands.

During this early period the fear of Indian cunning, and the knowledge of their own weakness, made the newcomers look on each other as natural allies. This feeling culminated in the Treaty of 1659. The ill-success of the previous unorganised struggles, and the failure of an expedition planned by the English of the various Leeward Islands, showed the need of efficient combination in dealing with the Indian questions. At a meeting of governors of both nations convened by de Poincy, the French Lieutenant-General, there was considered

the manifold disorders which hath happened by the insolence of the daily invasions of the Indians into divers islands inhabited by the said two nations represented, especially by the Indians of St Vincent and Dominica, the several murders and outrages executed by them, and the destruction of the people of both nations, whose lives were in danger of looseing until this present time, not being able to suppress their insolences, much less possible to venture to declare unto them the light of the Gospel, the principle motive of establishing the Colonies in America, because they always had the craft and subtlety to make peace with one of the two nations before they would enterprize anything against the other. By which means they politicly did maintain friendship with one of the said two nations<sup>2</sup>.

With a view therefore to "authorising" missionaries, and for mutual safety, an offensive and defensive alliance was made between the two nations. The French crowned their diplomatic success by negotiating a treaty for peace and friendship with the Caribs, guaranteeing them possession of their islands of Dominica and St Vincent. But the growing rivalry between the French and English soon made the treaty a dead letter, and each nation tried to curry favour with the Caribs and use them as allies against the other.

<sup>1</sup> Local tradition still points out the cliff over which the Caribs jumped to avoid the massacre. A. Aspinall, *Pocket Guide to West Indies*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 186-7 (preamble to treaty).

It is a significant fact that this treaty was negotiated and signed, on the English side by Leeward governors alone: its very existence was later denied by a governor of Barbados<sup>1</sup>. From their position the Leeward Islands were equally exposed to Indian and to French attacks. To Barbados lying away to windward, and well out of the string of islands that served as stepping stones from the Main, the Indians were interesting but not dreaded neighbours. Their islands were useful for their wood supply, and, if necessary, could provide plantations for the surplus population of Barbados: the Indians themselves were to be pampered and courted. To the Leeward planter the Indian islands were the nests of a cruel and treacherous enemy, who was always ready to raid an outlying island and murder the defenceless inhabitants. The Indians should be destroyed, or at least expelled the islands and driven to the Main. As in so many other cases, the policy of Barbados and of the Leeward Islands was in direct opposition, and this clash of interests was emphasised after the division of the government.

The two islands left to the Indians by the treaty, St Vincent and Dominica, were lofty and covered with thick woods which offered a ready hiding place for their inhabitants. Dominica, lying between Martinique and Guadeloupe, was always the more dangerous to the Leeward Islands, though Caribs from the more distant St Vincent, and even from the Main, often co-operated in the raids. St Lucia, claimed by both French and English, interested Barbados most, as it was the usual port of call for all ships wishing to renew their supply of fuel; and it was on this island that Francis Lord Willoughby made his ill-starred attempt at a settlement.

There seems no doubt that the French were more successful in their dealings with the Caribs than the English. By means of their missionaries they were able to get into touch with them, and those natives who were converted by their efforts became French partisans. Father Beaumont, the Jesuit by whose assistance the treaty of 1659 was negotiated with the Indians, dwelt at Dominica<sup>2</sup>. At St Lucia the French lived freely amongst the Indians, hunting and fishing, while it was even rumoured

<sup>1</sup> See later, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Du Tertre, I, 577.

that they stripped and painted to attain the confidence and friendship of the Caribs<sup>1</sup>. There seems no evidence that the French intermarried with the Indians more than was usual among the early settlers of any nation, and there was certainly no definite policy of amalgamation such as Colbert wished to enforce in Canada<sup>2</sup>. The Caribs trusted the French more readily than they did either Dutch or English.

The enmity and aversion which those Barbarians have conceiv'd against the English Nation in general, is come to that height, that there hardly passes a year but they make one or two irruptions, in the night time, into some one of the Islands it is possess'd of; and then, if it be not timely discover'd, and valiantly oppos'd, they kill all the men they meet, ransack the Houses and burn them, and if they can get away any of the Women and Children, they carry them away Prisoners into their own Territories, with all the Booty they have a mind to<sup>3</sup>.

This inveterate hatred of the English was due, according to the French accounts, to the treacherous way in which the early English traders had enticed Caribs aboard ships and then carried them into slavery<sup>4</sup>. This may well be true, for the first settlers of Barbados enslaved the Arawaks who had been sent from the Main to help with the settlement<sup>5</sup>. Indeed it was seldom considered necessary by the English planter to keep faith with a heathen.

Such was the state of affairs when Francis Lord Willoughby reached Barbados in 1663. His policy of relieving the surplus populations of Barbados by planting the Indian Islands, had but little success. The settlement of 1500 men on St Lucia, which involved him in serious financial trouble and led to sharp words with the Governor of Martinique, was an utter failure.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., II, 887 (? 1664); cf. similar statement from *The British Empire in America*, 1741, quoted Lucas, *West Indies*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Lavissee, VII<sup>1</sup>, 258-9.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> These Indians were not all freed till after 1660. For later enslavement of Indians, cf. C.S.P., IV, 439. The story of Inkle and Yarico told by Ligon became very popular through the *Spectator's* Essay on the subject (*Spectator*, No. 11, 13. 3. 1711). See also Bryan Edwards, I, 345. The contrast between the cruelty of the planter and the noble suffering of the slave early became a favourite theme. Cf. Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, where Byam, the Governor of Surinam and a planter at Barbados, plays the part of stage villain.

The settlers, reduced by want, disease and the hostility of the Indians, appealed to the French at Martinique, and then deserted the island<sup>1</sup>. At Dominica Willoughby tried a different method. Disregarding the Treaty of 1659 he sent the half-breed Indian Warner, with a commission as deputy-governor, to live at Basse-Terre on Dominica and build up an English interest there. "Warner's Indians" were soon at feud with the Indians of the other side of the island who held to their French alliance<sup>2</sup>. This policy of expansion was not without its critics. Modyford, always Willoughby's rival, declared that most of the men who had been wasted on the St Lucia settlement had really volunteered to go with him to Jamaica, where they would have done much "better than to be destroyed<sup>3</sup>." He stated that it was this attempt that drove the Indians into the arms of the French, an alliance which was so fatal to the English in the ensuing war<sup>4</sup>.

When war broke out in 1666 the lucky capture of Indian Warner by the French made them supreme in Dominica, and they inflamed the Caribs against the English, and used them as their "stalking horse." The Indians were their constant allies, helping them when Lord Willoughby's fleet was wrecked on the Saints, raiding Antigua again and again, and hovering to windward like vultures during the sea-fight in Nevis Road<sup>5</sup>. There was, however, some hesitation among the more thoughtful of the French about employing such cruel allies against Christian foes: it was possible that the tables might be turned, and the Indians used by the English against the French. "Les Careybes ...ne font la guerre que comme des Loups, des Tigres ou des Léopards, sans aucune humanité," records their historian du Tertre. A peculiarly revolting incident occurred when a flag of truce came from Henry Willoughby to M. du Lion, the

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, III, 243-4. See above, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See cap. II.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., III, 277 (Modyford's "Additional Propositions" *re* Jamaica).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1714 (Modyford—Albemarle, 16. 3. 68); cf. also Farmer's complaints. *Ib.* 1151.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1224, 1258, 1400, 1488, 1693. At the capture of Antigua, de Clodoré gave a safe-conduct in his own name to protect the inhabitants from Indians, but he took away most of their arms. A quarrel ensued between de Clodoré and de la Barre about this document. Du Tertre, IV, 189-91.

French governor of Guadeloupe. Some Caribs who were at hand, waiting to raid Antigua under French leadership, not understanding the proceedings wished to attack the English.

...il coururent comme des chiens enragez au bord de la mer, criants, heurlans et luy disant milles injures, luy jettant des roches, et voulant malgré Monsieur du Lion, mettre leur piraugues en mer, pour le suivre, le tuer et manger tous ceux qui estoient dans la barque avec luy<sup>1</sup>.

Du Lion was horrified at the exhibition, and realising what atrocities he was encouraging, refused to supply the promised leaders for the expedition. He wrote a vigorous letter of protest to de Clodoré, who was the chief upholder of the Indian alliance, but no change of policy followed. The Indians were a peculiarly dangerous enemy, for they could easily land in their periagoes along the rocky windward coasts of the islands, where no ship dare come, and so all through the war the planters were forced to watch the whole of their shore and live in constant dread of a joint-attack which they could scarcely hope to repel<sup>2</sup>.

As soon as peace was made the new Lord Willoughby insisted on the surrender of Indian Warner, as one of the prisoners whose release was guaranteed by the Treaty of Breda. He sent him back to Dominica again, ordering the captain of the frigate which carried him to demand all their prisoners from the Indians, and to use strong measures if necessary<sup>3</sup>. A month later, in March 1668, finding that Bridge's regiment had nothing to do and was getting restless waiting for its pay, Willoughby determined on a small expedition to assert his authority in the southerly islands of St Vincent and St Lucia<sup>4</sup>. Starting from Barbados, Willoughby met Bridge and his regiment off St Lucia, and the little expedition sailed thence to the densely wooded island of St Vincent. Here it was found quite impossible to conquer the Caribs, and Willoughby had to be content with a treaty by which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the King of England, and promised to release all prisoners of war,

<sup>1</sup> Du Tertre, iv, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1201 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 9. 1. 74).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1690 (Willoughby—Walker, 2. 2. 68); cf. 1687 (proposals of Antigua to Willoughby, 31. 1. 68).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1710 (Willoughby—Arlington, 2/9. 3. 68).

and to hand over all runaway negroes. On St Lucia there did not seem to be above 60 Indians, but of St Vincent Willoughby wrote:

The Indians are very turbulent and active spirits, and I must always keep English amongst them to put them upon some war-like designs against some nation on the Maine, the better to divert them from acting any mischief against the English Colonies, for by their vicinity to the French islands, the French are very frequently among them and very frequently invite them to breach and blood<sup>1</sup>.

The idea of settling on St Lucia was again revived, and Nicholas Blake, a Barbados planter, drew up a scheme and endeavoured to procure its submission to the King. He argued that the new plantation would soon prove profitable from its customs, and suggested that a royal estate in the island would be a very sound investment. As usual with the authors of such schemes, he asked for the governorship of the island for a number of years. Nothing came of the proposal, and St Lucia remained a no-man's-land<sup>2</sup>.

Attention was suddenly turned in 1672 from the southern island to Dominica. While Lord Willoughby was home in England, his deputy-governor, Christopher Codrington, had made friends with Indian Warner and wormed from him the closely guarded secret that there was a silver-mine in Dominica<sup>3</sup>. A most amusing scene ensued: everyone who heard the rumour tried to get an interest in the mine, and the caballing and whispering drew French attention to what had already been suspected<sup>4</sup>. Codrington laid the matter before his Council, who advised him to reassert the King's claim to the island with all speed, although his instructions did not cover this point<sup>5</sup>. Stapleton heard of it and refrained from avenging a Carib outrage lest he should spoil the plan<sup>6</sup>. Codrington sent the news home to the King, and to his cousin Henry Drax, one of the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1788 (Willoughby—Lords of Council, 9. 7. 68), 1717 (treaty, 23. 3. 68), 1741 (Bridge—Albemarle, ? April 1668).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 298, 383, 670 (Blake's propositions, 20. 10. 70, 5th Jan. and 6th Dec. 1671).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 754 (Codrington—Arlington, 7. 2. 72).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 987 (Wheler's account of the Leeward Islands, 14. 12. 72).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 795 (minutes Council Barbados, 4. 4. 72).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, 842 (Stapleton—C.F.P., 27. 5. 72).



Gentlemen Planters of Barbados, but this letter fell into Willoughby's hands, and he made good use of the information. Drax only knew of its fate from a lady who called upon his wife and declared that she had seen it lying about in Willoughby's house. There was a rush for concessions. Willoughby who had already arranged that the three Indian islands should be inserted in his new commission by name, begged for a patent of the mine, while Drax petitioned for a patent for the real discoverers, Codrington, Lloyd and himself, and also asked for a letter to Willoughby which should restrain him from wreaking his fury on his deputy-governor<sup>1</sup>. Armed with his new commission Willoughby went once more to Barbados, posing as the discoverer of the mine, and soon after his arrival quarrelled with Codrington over money matters and dismissed him from the Council and from the command of his regiment. Henry Willoughby was appointed in his place<sup>2</sup>.

The French on their part had not been inactive. De Baas expelled the men Codrington had placed on the island, reminding him that Dominica had been left to the Caribs by the agreement of 1659. Of this purely Leeward agreement Codrington knew nothing, and he protested against the French action as an infringement of the King's sovereignty in Dominica<sup>3</sup>. On his arrival in October 1672, Willoughby made all preparations for a prompt settlement of the island. He was backed by a letter from the Council for Plantations, which denied the binding force of the agreement of 1659, since it was made by the mere governor of an island, and not mentioned by the Treaty of Breda. Willoughby was free to do anything in the matter which would not lead to an actual breach with the French, and he was ordered to send home the papers which proved an alleged purchase of Dominica from the natives<sup>4</sup>. In the midst

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 834 (order *C.F.P.*, 17. 5. 72), 878 (Drax—Arlington, n.d.); cf. 871 (Willoughby's commission).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1060 (minutes Council Barbados, 2. 4. 73), 1104 (Peter Colleton—Slingsby, 28. 5. 73).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 901 (Codrington—Arlington, 27. 7. 72; and enclosures); cf. 906, 939.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 955 (Bridge—Arlington, 5. 11. 72), 992 (Worsley—Willoughby, 17. 12. 72, enclosing letter from *C.T.P.*), 1044 (Willoughby's reply, 7. 3. 73). Willoughby died 10. 4. 73.

of all this preparation Willoughby sickened and died, leaving the island seething with excitement. Colleton succeeded to the government, as President of the Council, according to Willoughby's commission<sup>1</sup>, but he was forced to report that no documents showing the English title to Dominica could be found. The Council of Barbados recommended that Indian Warner should be continued as deputy-governor, hoping that they would thus maintain both their interest among the Caribs and their claim to the island, without driving the French to extremes<sup>2</sup>.

The story of the attempt to settle St Lucia and the stampede to obtain an interest in the rumoured silver mine at Dominica illustrate the general feeling of Barbados towards the Indian problem. In the Leeward Islands, however, during this very time of excitement in Barbados, the feeling was quite different. The establishment of a separate government had enabled those islands to develop their own policy, and in Stapleton they had found a governor who could appreciate their point of view. The more southerly islands of Antigua and Montserrat were always the most exposed to Indian attacks, and as deputy-governor of the latter island Stapleton had known the need of continual watchfulness. Neither the Peace of Breda nor Willoughby's treaty with the Caribs of St Vincent meant safety for the Leeward Islands, and in his very first letter as Governor-in-Chief Stapleton complained of Indian murders at Antigua<sup>3</sup>. He had just captured some Caribs from Dominica suspected of a similar attempt on Montserrat, and though they proved to be innocent, he held them as hostages for the production of the murderers<sup>4</sup>. Stapleton estimated the strength of the Indians on the three islands at 1500 bowmen. They were aided by 600 runaway slaves for whom the islands offered a convenient refuge<sup>5</sup>. The Leeward planters wished to destroy the Caribs before another war with the French broke out.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 811 (Willoughby's commission), 1065, 1068, 1070, 1072 (minutes Council Barbados, 5-16. 4. 73).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1098 (Council Barbados—*C.T.P.*, 28. 5. 73), encloses new commission to Indian Warner.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 842 (Stapleton—*C.F.P.*, 27. 5. 72).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 842 and 906 (Stapleton—*C.F.P.*, 7. 8. 72).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 896 (Stapleton's answers, 17. 7. 72).

The French have them always at command and made their blood-hounds of them in the late war; and they are more terrible to some of our people than their neighbours<sup>1</sup>. If his Majesty be graciously pleased to get the French King's orders to the French governors to join with us for the destruction of the Caribbee Indians, or at least that they shall not concern themselves with them if we undertake it, it will be a mighty encouragement to our settlers, for they dread them heathenish villains more than a Christian enemy<sup>2</sup>.

These oft-repeated suggestions fell on deaf ears, for even if the French had been ready to join in the extermination of their most useful allies, the government in England was at the moment interested in nothing but developing the mine at Dominica<sup>3</sup>.

A successful Indian attack now drove Stapleton to independent action. In November 1674 news reached Nevis that a Frenchman at Guadeloupe had seen the Indians there preparing to help their comrades of Dominica in a raid on Antigua.

They are Warner's Indians, as to the other side of the island Indians M. de Bas has so many of them in prison at Martinico for abuse offered by them to that island: the rogue that doeth all this is one that hath been formerly a slave upon Antigua, and is runaway and will never give over until he has them in keeping that kept him: he speaks good English<sup>4</sup>.

Despite this warning the Indians carried out their raid successfully just before Christmas, 1674, and Stapleton, who was tired of sending home complaints, acted on his own responsibility. At the request of the Council and Assembly of Antigua, he gave orders to their deputy-governor, Col. Philip Warner, a younger son of old Sir Thomas, to raise a small force of men and lead a punitive expedition against Dominica. Early in the new year Philip Warner landed at Dominica, and, led by friendly native guides, crossed the island and killed some Indians of the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 906.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 983 (Stapleton—*C.F.P.*, 10. 12. 72); cf. 1201 (Stapleton—*C.T.P.*, 9. 1. 74).

<sup>3</sup> French policy with regard to the Caribs may be judged by the secret orders issued by Colbert in 1670, that the Indians should be secretly urged to war against the Dutch (Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 487, 3. 7. 70). It is only fair to mention that warnings of Indian raids twice reached Stapleton from French sources. *C.S.P.*, III, 1391, and VI, 190; cf. IV, 428.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1391 (letter from Guadeloupe, 23. 11. 74). The story of Indian Warner's early life gets twisted into many different forms; cf. IV, 902.

French faction, but not content with this, he fell on "Warner's Indians" by some stratagem, and destroyed several of them, including his own half-brother. Stapleton reports the whole matter in few words, and refers to Indian Warner as a "great villain, [who] took a French commission<sup>1</sup>." To Barbados this expedition seemed peculiarly ill-timed, and the new governor, Sir Jonathan Atkins, was very angry<sup>2</sup>. It was feared that all chance of Indian friendship had been for ever lost by Philip Warner's act.

I had required a reason from his superior of the affront done to me being acted in my government, but the King's honour and the interest of all these places being so much concerned, I thought it more fit to present the consideration of it to His Majesty<sup>3</sup>.

William Hamlyn, the captain of a sloop pressed by Warner for the expedition, told Atkins a gruesome story which was readily believed. Philip Warner had received every help in his expedition from his half-brother; but

after the action was over he invites him and his party to a treat, and after having made them drunk with rum, liquor extracted from the scum of sugars and much used in all the parts of America, he caused them all to be massacred, not sparing his brother or little children<sup>4</sup>.

This account and Stapleton's meagre story reached home almost together, and the thought of such horrid treachery, or possibly the consideration that a peaceful occupation of Dominica was now out of the question, angered the home government. Atkins was told how displeased the King was at this disgraceful news, and he was ordered to see that the offenders were severely punished, and to send the Indians some heads to explain the feelings of the King<sup>5</sup>. All unsuspecting of the trouble which he had caused, and of the way in which his head had been dedicated as a peace offering to the Indians, Philip Warner

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 428 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 8. 2. 75).

<sup>2</sup> Atkins arrived in Barbados in the autumn of 1674. *C.S.P.*, III, 1372-3. His predecessor, Lord Willoughby, died in Barbados, 10. 4. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 439 (Atkins—Williamson, 17. 2. 75).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 439 encloses Hamlyn's deposition, dated 18. 2. 74/5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 601 (Coventry—Atkins, 23. 6. 75).

arrived in England, whither he had returned on business. He was immediately seized, and after a few hurried questions, put away safely in the Tower, while the problem of jurisdiction was referred to the law officers of the Crown. Warner begged to be tried in England, and cast doubts on the story of his accuser. Hamlyn, he declared, had sworn to things which had happened ashore, though he had been aboard ship the whole time: there were grave discrepancies in his statements, and it was well-known that he had a grudge against Philip Warner, who had punished him for smuggling tobacco<sup>1</sup>. The Council, however, would not listen to pleas about the question of fact, and Warner was ordered to give his reasons, if any, against being tried at Dominica<sup>2</sup>. Warner knew well that if he were tried by Barbados planters things would go badly for him. He therefore petitioned that if he were to be tried at Dominica the jury should be fetched from Nevis, and offered to bear the cost of transport himself: if at Barbados "that an equal number of judge and jury from the Leeward Islands may be appointed<sup>3</sup>." At last a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to Atkins, and a number of others, half of whom were from the Leeward Islands, and, at Warner's special request, orders were given that proceedings should not commence before the arrival of the Leeward members<sup>4</sup>. In April 1676 Philip Warner, who had been kept a close prisoner in the Tower for eight months despite his efforts to obtain release on bail, was placed aboard H.M.S. 'Phoenix' and sent to Barbados to stand his trial there<sup>5</sup>.

Although the details of the fighting had been controlled by Warner, the expedition itself was organised under Stapleton's authority, and he was naturally annoyed at the course of events in England. The general feeling among the Leeward planters was that the whole outcry was engineered from Barbados, partly as a salve to Atkin's vanity which had been hurt by Stapleton's

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 750 (i) (the case of Col. Warner, n.d.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 688, 699, 705 (Order King in Council).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 750 (i) and (ii) (argument for bail); cf. petition of his elder brother, Sir Thomas Warner, *ib.*, iv, 799 (10. 1. 76); 751 (petition of Warner's mother, 20. 12. 75).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 828, 854 (King—Gov. of Barbados, 28. 3. 76).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 854-7, 868.

action, and partly because of the clash of the different policies toward the Indians. Stapleton set to work to help his lieutenant, sending home a sheaf of depositions, most of them designed to prove that Indian Warner was not the son of old Sir Thomas but only his slave<sup>1</sup>. The details of Hamlyn's story were denied, but Stapleton could not blink the fact that some questionable stratagem had been used.

One thing more I humbly present in Col. Warner's behalf, which is that if he has erred in the form of fair fighting and has used some stratagem to destroy a skulking heathen enemy, it is not without president of all nations who have first settled these parts, when they deprived them Indians of their possessions. In all warlike Christian expeditions the like is in use at this day as blowing up each other in mines and countermines....They beat up quarters, burn houses, whether the adverse party be armed or naked, awake or asleep, the actors being rather applauded than punished<sup>2</sup>.

Stapleton's efforts were in vain; his first letter reached London when Warner was about to embark, and was laid aside<sup>3</sup>, the last was despatched after Warner had already set sail<sup>4</sup>. Stapleton, however, was able to help Warner in a more practical way. Despite Atkin's eulogy Hamlyn was, according to Stapleton, a man of shady character: he took to privateering, and a letter from Stapleton to the Governor of Curaçoa secured his despatch to Holland in irons. Stapleton reported the matter with great coolness, but Atkins declared that the prosecution broke down because of the failure of the chief witness to appear, and hinted that the minor witnesses were intimidated, "the first informer being gone, or rather indeed conveyed away<sup>5</sup>."

Thus in September 1676 Philip Warner was tried at Barbados by a mixed commission, though, as he triumphantly pointed out,

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 748 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 20. 12. 75, enclosing many depositions). One of the arguments is that Indian Warner was never baptised; cf. Ligon, p. 50, where it is argued against baptising a slave, that no Christians can be held as slaves.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 786 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 17. 1. 76).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 868 (minutes L.T.P., 6. 4. 76). The letter of 20. 12. 75 was read and laid aside.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 902 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 4. 76). This letter enclosed another bundle of depositions.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 1151 (Stapleton—Southwell, 22. 11. 76), 1040 (Atkins—L.T.P., 25. 9. 76); cf. 786.

by a jury composed wholly of Barbados planters, and acquitted. He determined to return to Antigua,

where I promise myself a great deal of future content in a private retired life, leaving the leading and commanding regiments etc., which has been so ill requited even to the ruin of myself and family<sup>1</sup>.

Stapleton was openly triumphant at the result.

Col. Warner is after his great sufferings come off with credit by a learned Ignoramus of the grand jury, and was cleared by Proclamation, which could not be otherwise unless they would hang him right or wrong<sup>2</sup>.

Atkins however took a different view.

It has taken away a kind of outwork which secured the people of this island when they went for wood or other necessities for this place, and I doubt those gentles of the Leeward Islands will sleep very unquietly, for the Indians never forget or forgive injuries<sup>3</sup>.

This prophecy proved but too true, though for a few years the Indians remained quiet.

Warner returned to Antigua and took up his duties there as deputy-governor again, but a petition he sent home begging to be restored to the royal favour met with ill-success<sup>4</sup>. While in the Tower Warner had been visited by Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary to the Lords of Trade, and his candid answers to Southwell's questions on Leeward Island affairs had led to a friendship between the two men<sup>5</sup>. Thus, when in May 1677 Warner's petition came before the Lords of Trade, they took a favourable view of his case and decided to report accordingly, "but upon further consideration and debate the report was afterwards laid aside and His Majesty was pleased to direct that Col. Warner be displaced from his government<sup>6</sup>." Stapleton refrained from making any comment on this order, but the planters of Antigua showed plainly what they thought of the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 1029 (Warner's letter, 12. 9. 76).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 1151 (Stapleton—Southwell, 22. 11. 76).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 1040 (Atkins—*L.T.P.*, 25. 9. 76).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 3 (minutes C. and A. Antigua, 9. 1. 77), 7 (petition received by *L.T.P.*, 11th Jan. read 10th May 1677).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 852, 861, 868; cf. Egerton 2395, fo. 499, 535, and 537 (Warner—Southwell, 7 and 17. 4. 76).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, v, 7 (minute on Warner's petition).

whole matter. Rowland Williams, who had been acting as governor during Warner's absence, refused to accept the office again, and the government had actually to be put into commission for some months<sup>1</sup>. Philip Warner was soon after elected to the Assembly and promptly chosen as its Speaker<sup>2</sup>, for to the local planters he was the saviour of the island, even if in England he was regarded as the destroyer of all schemes for settlement in Dominica.

For some years after Warner's expedition the Indians did not give the Leeward Islands the same trouble as before. The English planters were concerned with other things, the fear of war with France and the negotiations for the Treaty of Neutrality, but the Indian terror was ever in the background, and it only needed some special outrage to recall attention to this difficult question. The revenge which Atkins had feared fell in July 1681 on Barbuda, a large flat island which lies some 25 miles north of Antigua. It was used as a stock farm for Nevis, and only inhabited by some twenty English. The news again reached the Leeward Islands from Guadeloupe, a Frenchman writing thence to Stapleton that he had met the Indians returning from their venture, and boasting of a raid on Antigua in two months time<sup>3</sup>. The numbers were at first exaggerated, and the fifty periagoes from St Vincent, Dominica and the Main, with their 2000 Indians, sank on surer evidence to six canoes with 240 men<sup>4</sup>. Even this was a very large force to attack a defenceless island with only twenty inhabitants. Some of the English managed to escape "while the Indians were drinking kill-devil or rum (this country's spirit)," and their tale of cruel treachery inflamed the planters. Stapleton determined to punish the murderers, but was careful not to fall into his previous mistake.

I hope it shall not be thought an infringement upon the government of Barbados if I take all opportunities to revenge the blood of my fellow-subjects upon these heathens, as it was thought in Sir Jonathan Atkins his time, who might have prevented this by embracing a

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 504 (minutes C. and A. Antigua, 3. 12. 77).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 871 (*ib.* 29. 1. 79).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 190 (M. Lapoterie—Stapleton, 27. 7. 81). The cordial terms of this letter show Stapleton's friendly relations with some of the French.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 189 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 27. 7. 81), 204 (*ib.* 16. 8. 81).



proposition I made to him to join to destroy the Indians of St Vincent, which is near Barbados, and these of Dominica. I have often writ concerning these blood-hounds as M. la Barre called them when he made use of them in the conquest of Antigua and Montserrat. The hurricane time hinders my design against them now, but first I will give notice to Sir Richard Dutton of their massacre and robberies, though they are no more at his subjection or command than those of Arinoco notwithstanding the two islands are in his Commission<sup>1</sup>.

A further difficulty lay in the fact that the island Indians were frequently reinforced by Caribs from the mainland, but Stapleton hoped to clear the islands entirely.

Atkins, who had now returned to England, when summoned before the Lords of Trade and closely questioned on the proposal for a joint-expedition made to him by Stapleton, said that Barbados would never agree to such a thing as they valued the Indian friendship when getting wood at St Lucia<sup>2</sup>. This clash of interests between Barbados and the Leeward Islands prevented any honest co-operation in dealing with the Caribs, and was destined to ruin Stapleton's second expedition as it had ruined the leader of his first. Sir Richard Dutton, the new governor of Barbados, declared that an expedition should be undertaken if it could really extirpate the Indians, though he subsequently left Stapleton in the lurch. The attitude of Barbados was the same as ever.

I am well assured the people of this island think themselves so little concerned in the well-being of the Leeward Islands, which can never be useful to them, and think are too well growing upon them already, that they could be well content they were lessened not advanced<sup>3</sup>.

Barbados was, however, beginning to feel the result of the Indian trouble, for while cutting wood at St Lucia several men were killed by Caribs, but Dutton took no other action than to prohibit ships from calling at the island unless they had sufficient men to guard the felling party. The Lords of Trade, despite Atkins' evidence, determined that energetic steps must be

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 189 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 27. 7. 81).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 254 (Blathwayt—Atkins, 11. 10. 81), 258-9 (minutes *L.T.P.*, 16 and 18. 10. 81).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 357 (Dutton—*L.T.P.*, 3. 1. 82). This letter was read in committee, 8. 4. 82, after orders had already been sent to Stapleton.

taken. Stapleton was authorised to make war on the Caribs, and told to seek assistance from Barbados<sup>1</sup>: a similar letter to Dutton miscarried, and that half-hearted governor excused himself from joining in the expedition on the grounds of lack of instructions.

These orders were welcomed in the Leeward Islands where the usual guards had recently been doubled for fear of Indian raids, but the jealousy of the separate islands under his government caused Stapleton nearly as much difficulty as the rivalry with Barbados<sup>2</sup>. To the proposal that Nevis should furnish two sloops, to join the other islands in an expedition, the Assembly returned the answer that Nevis had not been troubled with Indians for 20 years and would, therefore, take no action. The selfishness of this less exposed island was only overcome by the production of the letter from the Lords of Trade, and then the answer was cautiously worded, "Consented unto by the Assembly because of the Lords' letters and orders to that purpose<sup>3</sup>." It was now well on into the hurricane season of 1682, and Stapleton proposed to go or send against the Indians as soon as sailing should be safe once more. The lack of a good ship to lead the little squadron was overcome by the General Assembly of the Leeward Islands, which Stapleton summoned to meet at Nevis in November. He proposed:

That if no frigate come hither for the King's service in these islands the country to allow for the hire of a vessel of countenance for my transport with the eight sloops for the suppression of the Carribe Indians, and that it be agreed on as to the dividend, viz., to what proportion of each of the four islands as to the charge of the Indian War designed whether  $\frac{1}{3}$  Nevis,  $\frac{1}{3}$  Antigua,  $\frac{1}{8}$  St Christopher and  $\frac{1}{8}$  Montserrat.

In agreeing to this the General Assembly attached a proviso that was rather flattering to their governor. "Consented unto by the majority of votes provided the General go himself<sup>4</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 259 (minutes L.T.P., 18. 10. 81), 410, 411 (Order King in Council, 8. 2. 82, and subsequent letter), 429 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 5. 3. 82).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 291 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 12. 11. 81).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 557, 576 (Journal Assembly Nevis, 14 and 21. 6. 82).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 790 (Journal Gen. Assembly Leeward Islands, 15. 11. 82). The islands were careful not to exceed their share, *ib.* 1020 (mins C. and A. Antigua, 26. 3. 83); cf. 1047.

While all these preparations were in hand the long expected blow fell. Just as the General Assembly was meeting at Nevis, the Indians attacked Montserrat, where they had not been since the French war. Landing at a place inaccessible to ordinary shipping, they murdered some boys, fired a sugar factory, and ran off with some negro slaves. The lack of a ship and of the orders to Dutton prevented immediate pursuit, but Stapleton was determined on revenge. "If it please God, as soon as I can get provisions, yet very scarce, I will pursue the villains, though in shallops<sup>1</sup>."

The lengthy preparations were at last complete, and towards the end of April 1683 Stapleton set sail with a little fleet of six topsail vessels and eight sloops, all provided at the expense of the planters, and manned by the two standing companies from St Christopher, and the local militia<sup>2</sup>. Landing on Dominica, Stapleton found fighting in the woods a difficult task, while the constant rains, which had now broken, made his powder wet but did not harm the native bows. Fate seemed against the expedition, and Stapleton could but report that eleven Indians were certainly killed; many were wounded and may have died later, though it was only from the French that accurate statistics could be obtained. The planters had five men wounded, of whom one died. This seemed but little to show for all the preparations, but it was in the destruction of Indian canoes, and the consequent limiting of their power of offence, that the planters were most successful. Thirty-five canoes were burnt at St Vincent, eleven at Dominica, but though only eight were left, the Indians, it was feared, would soon get more from the Main. Even the winds fought against the expedition, and scattered the ships so that the raid on St Vincent was made with only 200 men<sup>3</sup>.

The attitude of Dutton at Barbados during this time is one

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 860 (Stapleton—L.T.P. 20. 12. 82). The raid took place on 13. 11. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1126, 1048 (mins. Council S. C., 20. 4. 83). At St Christopher the militia is ordered to resume the old patrols, probably because of the absence of the companies.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1126 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 15. 6. 83). Stapleton's report of the expedition.

of suspicious reserve. Knowing quite well that orders had been sent to him to co-operate with Stapleton, he took no steps to do so, explaining that instructions had never arrived. Even when a rumour reached him that the Leeward Islands were hard put to it to defend themselves against forty periagoes of Indians, he sent no help. The frigate 'Ruby' had just reached Barbados on her way to Jamaica, and though her captain was most anxious to go to Stapleton's aid, and begged a pilot or a sloop to accompany him, Dutton was more anxious to make sure of getting pay for his sloop than ready to write a few lines to justify the frigate in altering her course<sup>1</sup>. The vigorous action of Sir Thomas Lynch, when the 'Ruby' reached Jamaica, is in great contrast with the dilatory behaviour of the successive governors of Barbados. Here was a man at Jamaica of the same vigorous type as Stapleton at the Leeward Islands. Straightforward, energetic and outspoken, Lynch could recognise and admire Stapleton's work and character. The 'Ruby' was at once despatched to Stapleton's aid, and Lynch explained that he did this not only out of respect for Stapleton "whom I extremely value," but because he believed that the King's frigates should serve his colonies and protect his subjects everywhere.

I wish to God we were not so far to leeward, otherwise I could send you brave men enough, and such as would be fitter to hunt the Indians than the Planters, but I doubt not that your presence and conduct will give success. Could I contribute more to it I would with all my heart, for I think it every Englishman's and Christian's duty to assist in these cases. Therefore, I am amazed that they should tell the captain at Barbados that they would not be at £20 charge to save the Leeward Islands and Jamaica too. God be thanked our people are not of that humour here and no subjects ever did so much as the Jamaicans for the King's honour.... I am in great payne to hear of your return<sup>2</sup>.

The 'Ruby' arrived too late to take any part in the expedition, and happily the report that the Leeward Islands were hard pressed was untrue, but Stapleton valued Lynch's action highly, while his opinion of Dutton was very low<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1065 (Lynch—Lord President of the Council, 6. 5. 83).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1073 (Lynch—Stapleton, 16. 5. 83).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1147 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 16. 7. 83).

The expedition had only been partially successful, and it was quite certain that those Indians still left would seek revenge. Stapleton wished to establish a small patrol and visit the islands periodically to destroy any canoes that might be there. At the meeting of the General Assembly in the autumn of 1683 he proposed this plan.

In order to the continuance of the work already entered upon for the suppression of the bloody and most barbarous heathen the Caribbee Indians, and for the future prevention of their cruelties, murders rapes and occult robberies, I desire your consent and concurrence for the maintaining of 2 sloops only, well-manned, one a year to carry war and revenge to their doors, and to keep it from ours, as well as take away the awe the inhabitants have been under, and the watching and warding we have been used to, this small preparation to continue at least until we have destroyed the few pereaugos they have left...<sup>1</sup>.

To this the Assembly agreed by the majority of votes, but the Council was tired of the whole business and demurred. Thus the unusual event occurred of a governor's proposal being accepted by the popular Assembly but rejected by his own Council. Stapleton was determined to carry out his policy if possible, and the matter was raised in the separate islands. Under the shock of a recent Indian raid, Nevis, which had deemed itself so secure, agreed to provide a sloop<sup>2</sup>. At Antigua there was some difficulty, for the Assembly refused to do anything until after crop time, but offered to take their share in raiding the Caribs provided the other islands acted first<sup>3</sup>. The matter was thus delayed, and the proposed expedition fell through.

In his dealings with the Caribs Stapleton was called upon to face the perennial problem of the relationship between civilised and lower races. He contributed nothing to its solution beyond the drastic advice that the island Caribs should be exterminated or at least driven to the Main, and the latter suggestion was actually carried out in 1796 when 5000 Caribs were deported

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, VI, 1354 (Journal Gen. Assembly Leeward Islands, 3. 11. 83).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1596 (Journal Assembly Nevis, 17. 3. 84). They stipulated that the other islands should co-operate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1645 (minutes C. and A. Antigua, 23. 4. 84).

from St Vincent to the island of Ruatan<sup>1</sup>. Unsupported by Barbados, his expeditions had never been strong enough to effect their object, and had only served to stir up among the Indians a longing for revenge<sup>2</sup>. When Stapleton returned to England in 1685 he left the Leeward Islands still confronted with this danger, and it was more than a hundred years before the Caribs ceased to threaten the West Indian colonists.

<sup>1</sup> In Dominica there is still a Carib settlement.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, VII, 541 (Dep.-Gov. of Barbados—Sunderland, 8. 1. 86). Stede states that the French inflamed the Caribs by reminding them of the wars of Philip Warner and Sir William Stapleton.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LABOUR PROBLEM

As your Lordships require of us how this island may be improved, we shall not only deliver it as our opinion, but are also ready to make it appear that not one of these His Majesty's colonies ever was or ever can be brought to any considerable improvement without a supply of white servants and negroes. Council of Montserrat to Lords of Trade and Plantations (13. 7. 1680).

*C.S.P.*, v, 1442.

THE earliest planters in the West Indies were faced at the outset with a labour problem which only became more pressing as the colonies developed, and is still a problem to this day. The first settlers in St Christopher found Caribs on the island, and being in need of labour enslaved a few of them, but this source of supply failed almost at once for the Indians soon died off in slavery<sup>1</sup>. The type of men who could afford to adventure and settle in the new plantations naturally wished to become land-owners and planters; those who would be content to work for hire had not the money to emigrate. Faced with this difficulty the planter early fell back on two resources, he bought negroes from the slave-traders, who were largely Dutchmen before 1660, and he began to ship voluntary emigrants from England who, in return for their passage and the promise of a gratuity, bound themselves to work for their masters for a given period.

This system of indentured labour developed steadily, and it was by this means that the majority of the poorer whites came to the West Indies in the seventeenth century.

The French war of 1666-7 marks a turning point in the history of the Leeward Islands: before that war the islands had progressed steadily and had been largely settled; by the French successes the islands were practically ruined and had to start their economic life anew. It is quite impossible to say what was the population of the islands before the war, records of immigration were never kept, and such records as did exist were mostly

<sup>1</sup> Indian Warner, the son of a Carib woman, was treated as a slave on Sir Thomas' death. At Barbados Arawaks were early enslaved. Cf. also du Tertre, II, 485; *C.S.P.*, IV, 902.

destroyed in the fighting<sup>1</sup>. It is clear, however, that St Christopher was well settled, chiefly by small planters who held each a few acres, and cultivated them with the help of servants rather than slaves<sup>2</sup>. This island was the most important of the group, but its capture by the French was a disaster from which it never wholly recovered; first Nevis and then Antigua became the leading island. The exodus from St Christopher is estimated by the French historian du Tertre, who writes with obvious pride in his countrymen's success, at 8000 people exclusive of slaves, but Wheler's number of 5000 seems nearer the mark<sup>3</sup>. Almost all the slaves, some 400 in number, were captured by the French<sup>4</sup>. On the restoration of the island it was necessary both to resettle the planters and to find them labour. Stapleton reported that 438 planters had "lost their estates," and that by January 1674 only 195 had been restored. The great majority of these restored men had fled from the island without selling their lands, and so the difficult question of repurchase did not in these cases arise, for the French had already left such plantations in accordance with Colbert's instructions<sup>5</sup>. Of the remainder, 104 had claimed their estates but had not been restored owing to the blunders of Wheler and the deadlock reached by the National Court, while 139 had not troubled to put in any claim<sup>6</sup>. Some even of those who had never sold their plantations failed to return, and these estates, known as the "King's Lands," were granted to newcomers<sup>7</sup>. After July 1672 the whole matter was referred to England, and no further planters regained possession under the Treaty of Breda, despite the interminable

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 896 and 1201 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 9. 1. 74); cf. IV, 1152 (Stapleton's answers, 22. 11. 76), Nos. 19 and 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 977 (Wheler's statement); cf. note 6 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 977 and du Tertre, IV, 62; cf. *ib.*, IV, 861.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 678.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1201 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 9. 1. 74); IV, 752, 758 (correspondence Southwell and Wheler, Dec. 1674); *ib.*, III, 778 (mins. L.T.P., 10. 1. 75). Lieut. Greatbach states that the men now in possession at St Christopher were "most of them restored upon very hard terms, namely by payment of the price named in the contract, and giving allowance for meliorations."

<sup>6</sup> These 243 planters had held plantations totalling 4108 acres, or an average of 17 each. This corroborates Wheler's statement of the small size of many plantations in St Christopher before the war. *C.S.P.*, III, 1201.

<sup>7</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1077 (mins. Council St Christopher, 24. 4. 73), and 1201.



negotiations in Europe and the constant protests of Stapleton in the West Indies. The march of time tended to reduce the number of French proprietors who held land within the English quarters; a series of vexatious laws were passed which prevented the French resident from employing servants of his own nation, and forced the absentee to maintain a fixed proportion of Englishmen on his plantation. Rigorous legislation prevented a Frenchman from acquiring any new ground in the English

Table I

*The Population of the Leeward Islands.*

		Men		Total population	
		White	Black	White	Black
<i>St Christopher</i> (English Quarters)	1672	845 (349 French)	?	?	904 (552 French)
	1678	695 (130 French)	550	1897 (369 French)	1436
	1708	462	1036	1670	3258
<i>Nevis</i>	1672	1411	?	?	1739
	1678	1534	1422	3521	3860
	1708	529 (including boys)	1775 (including boys)	1104	3676
<i>Montserrat</i>	1672	1171	?	?	523
	1678	1148	400	2682	992
	1727	364	2100	1143	5855
<i>Antigua</i>	1672	1052	?	?	570
	1678	1236	805	2308	2172

(See Note A at end of chapter.)

quarter, and forbade the exportation of slaves or "other utensils" for sugar-making<sup>1</sup>. Thus the French proprietors began to let, and soon even to sell their plantations, but though this brought about the end at which Stapleton had aimed, it gave no compensation to the original claimants. This change can be readily seen in the statistics available. In July 1672 there were 349 able-bodied Frenchmen living in the English quarter as against 496 Englishmen; they possessed 552 slaves, the English had

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., III, 832; IV, 938; V, 645; VI, 772.

only 352<sup>1</sup>. Next year, out of 140 French proprietors, 45 are non-resident: the number of French slaves has risen to 676<sup>2</sup>. By 1678 the able-bodied Englishmen have risen to 557 while the French have sunk to 130. The total number of slaves is 1436 but their ownership is not recorded<sup>3</sup>. Ten years later there were scarce six French families living in the English quarters, and the old laws against the employment of French servants were reported as not only unnecessary but as an actual obstacle to the settlement of French Huguenots whom Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Stapleton's successor, wished to encourage with letters of denizenisation<sup>4</sup>. In 1719 the question of titles was finally settled by an act of the local Assembly which confirmed the

Table II

*The Population of the French Islands.*

			Total population	French	Slaves
<i>St Christopher</i>	1671	...	8120	3652	4468
	1682	...	7278	2977	4301
<i>Guadeloupe</i>	1671	...	7477	3310	4167
	1684	...	8161	3207	4954

From S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, p. 336 (quoting from French archives).

actual possessors as against any claims derived from those original proprietors who had a right by the Treaty of Breda to repurchase their land,

which many failing or neglecting to do, the French remained possessed thereof, till they, for valuable considerations received sold the same again to the English or otherwise forfeited the same<sup>5</sup>.

The English were thus eventually successful in expelling the French from their quarters, but of the captured negroes they re-obtained very few. The French, after much haggling, threw the onus of locating a particular negro on the English claimants,

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 896 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 17. 7. 72). It is not stated whether the numbers of slaves include women and children, but from later statistics this seems to be the case.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1201. The apparent discrepancy between the figures mentioned in the text and in Table I is due to the fact that Table I includes *all* inhabitants (e.g. Dutch etc.).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 741 (Stapleton's census, 26. 6. 78).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VII, 1773 (Johnson—L.T.P., 2. 6. 88).

<sup>5</sup> Acts of St Christopher, No. 38.

and by keeping the negroes carefully hidden until the time limit of a year had elapsed, managed to nullify that article of the treaty also<sup>1</sup>.

During all this time the French on St Christopher were vastly superior in numbers to the English: their total population in 1671 was 3652 whites and 4468 negroes; eleven years later it had fallen slightly, standing at 2977 whites and 4301 slaves<sup>2</sup>. In 1678 the total English population was only 1509 with 1435 slaves. Thus it is clear that the English fear of the French on St Christopher was not unfounded.

Of the other islands, Antigua and Montserrat had suffered heavily, though not so heavily as St Christopher. Captured by de la Barre, they had been systematically ravaged and all their negroes removed, but the English had never been actually expelled, though many had gone off to Nevis to join in the fighting. After the peace the negroes were claimed by the French as spoils of war, on the ground that these islands had never been held by the French King, and pending the settlement of this technical point, the negroes in dispute were divided and held by Wheler and de Baas. This proceeding was regarded by the claimants as sheer robbery, and it would seem that but few of the negroes ever found their way back to their original masters<sup>3</sup>. In 1672 it was reported that Antigua had 1052 able-bodied men with 570 negroes, and Montserrat 1171 with 523 negroes. The low proportion of negroes compared with the whites reflects the losses of the French war. In 1678, however, things had improved. In Antigua there were 1236 able-bodied men and 805 men slaves, out of a total of 2308 whites and 2172 negroes. In Montserrat a similar increase had taken place: the men there numbered 1148 whites and 400 blacks out of a total population of 2682 and 992 respectively. At Nevis there had never been the same displacement of population: the island had been overcrowded during the war as a refuge for the fugitives from St Christopher and as a base for operations against that island, but after the peace things soon righted

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 678, 896, 1360.

<sup>2</sup> Mims, 336. See table opposite.

<sup>3</sup> The negroes lost were estimated at 1200. *C.S.P.*, III, 896.

themselves there. In 1678 the figures stood at 1534 men out of 3521 whites and 1422 out of 3860 slaves<sup>1</sup>.

After the Peace of Breda, there was a great demand for labour in the Leeward Islands. Every planter, especially on the three

Table III

Summary of Census Return of Leeward Islands, 1678.

(Sent by Sir William Stapleton to the Lords of Trade.)

<i>Abstract of the Whole.</i>						
Whites				Negroes		
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
<i>St Christopher—</i>						
English ...	370	409	543			
Irish ...	187	—	—			
French ...	130	127	112			
Dutch ...	8	3	8			
	695	539	663	550	500	386
<i>Nevis—</i>						
English ...	1050	700	920			
Irish ...	450	120	230			
Scotch ...	34	8	9			
	1534	828	1159	1422	1322	1116
<i>Montserrat—</i>						
English ...	346	175	240			
Irish ...	769	410	690			
Scotch ...	33	6	13			
	1148	591	943	400	300	292
<i>Antigua—</i>						
English ...	800	400	400			
Irish ...	360	130	120			
Scotch ...	76	14	8			
	1236	544	528	805	868	499
<i>Saba—</i>						
English and Dutch	20	30	40			
<i>Statia</i> ...	24	15	30	50	30	20
<i>Tortola</i> ...	12	3	—			
<i>Anguilla</i> ...	100	150	300			
Grand total ...	4769	2700	3663	3227	3020	2313

= 19,692 (white, 11,132; black, 8560). C.O. 1/42,98.

islands that had been captured by the enemy, needed hands to replant his canes, and to rebuild his mills and storehouses. New emigrants, too, were needed to take up unsettled land in

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 896; v, 741.

Antigua, or to settle on the "King's lands" in St Christopher. Besides the losses due to the war a second cause helped to increase this sudden demand for labour. The cultivation of the sugar cane, which had become the staple product of Barbados, had spread before the war to the Leeward Islands and was gaining greatly at the expense of other crops. This method of farming lent itself to the employment of large gangs of labourers on big plantations, and it was one of the bitter complaints of Montserrat that a lack of sufficient labour prevented the development of the sugar industry in that island despite the suitability of its soil<sup>1</sup>. The demand for men was both military and economic, for the defence of the islands was ever present in men's minds, and all manner of suggestions were made. Immigration was to be encouraged and the islands were to be supplied by removing the English settlers from the captured colony of Surinam<sup>2</sup>. Wheler proposed to settle the older soldiers from the standing companies as planters on the island, and to fill their places with recruits from home. Others looked further afield, and a scheme was advanced for bringing Greeks from the Morea, while Sir Nathaniel Johnson hoped to attract Huguenot settlers<sup>3</sup>. All these suggestions were, however, only palliatives: the chief demand was for regular labour, and was only to be met by a regular importation of labourers into the islands. This supply the planters quickly found in the slaves imported by the Royal African Company, and in the indentured servants shipped to the islands by enterprising merchants.

It was not until the Restoration that the English merchants organised themselves with any success to take their share in the lucrative slave trade. The demand for slave labour was now becoming so insistent from the plantation colonies that, unless England was content to see her colonies supplied by a foreigner, a definite attempt was necessary to meet that demand herself.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1442.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1281, 1291 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 7. 2. 80), etc. 102 people, blacks and whites, came and were settled in Antigua.

<sup>3</sup> When Johnson arrived in the Leeward Islands in 1687, he found many of the soldiers had actually turned planters, and he recommended their discharge. *C.S.P.*, vii, 1387 and 1742; iv, 569 and 681 (Greeks); vii, 1629 (Huguenots).

The peculiar nature of the trade, calling as it did for armed forts to be maintained on the West Coast, and for the fitting and arming of ships ready to defend themselves against the jealous traders of another nation, aided by particular interests, led to the formation of a monopolist company. The first two experiments of the Restoration merchants were not successful: the company formed in 1660 had but small capital, and its successor, the Royal Adventurers of 1663 were faced with the bitter opposition of the Dutch, which quickly resulted in the war of 1665. During the fighting the company lost heavily, both in material and through the loss of trade, and its financial position was rendered worse by the bad debts it had contracted in Barbados. Here the planters were always ready to buy slaves, provided long credit were allowed, and though equally ready to raise complaints against the high prices they were forced to pay, they were anything but willing to meet their engagements. Local laws passed by a planter assembly and administered by a planter bench, vexed the English merchants, and made it almost impossible for them to recover their debts. Despite royal orders to the governor, the planters were loth to alter their procedure, and the inability to collect their debts played a large part in the financial ruin of the Royal Adventurers<sup>1</sup>. Things came to a head in 1672 and a drastic reorganisation of the company was carried through: a certain amount of new capital was raised, and a number of shares of the old company were exchanged at a heavy discount for those of the new. This new organisation, known as the Royal African Company, existed until 1752: all through the Restoration period it possessed a monopoly of the supply of slaves to the English colonies, and at first its financial success was very great<sup>2</sup>. On its formation the Royal African Company issued a prospectus in December 1672. They appointed Nevis as their depôt in the Leeward Islands, and offered to deliver slaves there at £16 per head, if they were contracted for in London beforehand: slaves not so contracted for would be sold at the best price obtainable.

<sup>1</sup> G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt 1, vol. II, cap. v.

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. II, pp. 17-35, examines the financial basis of the various African companies.

Despite this offer there were very few cases of slaves delivered by contract. The company would only contract for a whole cargo, and not many of the planters could afford to buy in such quantities. In one or two instances, a venture was arranged between friends, and a whole cargo ordered. In one case this proved a disastrous speculation for the merchants concerned. Owing to the Dutch war the company's trade was considerably hampered at first, and during 1672-3 only seven ships were sent, of which four carried slaves to Barbados<sup>1</sup>. In 1674 the supply increased, and from that date onwards both Barbados and the Leeward Islands received a steady stream of negro slaves from the Royal Company. Early in the same year the four islands united to petition the King to encourage the importation of both white servants and negro slaves.

May it further please yo<sup>r</sup> Gracious Ma'tie to accept our Humble request for yo<sup>r</sup> Gracious assistance for the future populas'on of these Islands, w<sup>ch</sup> doe consist of more unsettled land by many degrees than is yet settled...that y<sup>r</sup> Ma'tie having Commissionated many noble and worthy p'sons for ye supply of these parts w<sup>th</sup> Negroes from Affrica whose assistance hitherto hath been but little in ye respect of ye great quantity of unsold land, that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma'tie would [be] graciously pleased to lay yo<sup>r</sup> injunction of them to send some considerable quantity thereof to these Islands, for whose good paym<sup>t</sup> and honest entertainm<sup>nt</sup> we are ready to engage our Estates and fortunes, and doubt not thereby to be in such a Capacity to render ourselves as serviceable and bonafidee to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma'ties Service and Revenue as any other of these fruitful Islands<sup>2</sup>.

The decision of the company to sell all their negroes at Nevis was pleasant enough to that island, but the other islands of the group regarded it with jealousy: Antigua particularly, whose natural advantages, the local planters thought, were unfairly overlooked, endeavoured to persuade the company to import slaves direct to their island. In 1675 they passed an act in their local Assembly, the preamble of which stated their grievance very clearly.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 911 (memo. of R.A.C. to L.T.P., July 76). The destination of the other three is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1257 (petition received Mar. 1674), printed in V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, I, xlix (from the Antigua Council Book).

Wheras it hath pleased the Royal African Company in England ...to appoint the Island of Nevis to be the Mart or Place for delivery of Negroes for his Majesty's Leeward Charibbee Islands in America, whereof this is one, as also for the Payment of the goods contracted for the same, which happens to be very prejudicial to his Majesty's subjects the inhabitants of this Island, in regard this is the Windermost of his Majesty's Islands, so that the Negroes that are brought to Nevis are sold and disposed of, before any notice can be given us: and moreover for the inhabitants here to go down to Nevis to buy Negroes, and to carry afterwards their goods to make Payment, is a matter very disadvantageous to the Inhabitants here, who are altogether disappointed of the Common Advantage and Conveniencies of his Majesty's Gracious Intentions towards them in his Royal Charter or Grant to the said Royal Company, and is, as we presume, altogether unknown to the said Royal Company; as also the Conveniencies and Advantages that will arise to themselves as well as we by delivering Negroes and receiving their Payment here, which we doubt not but they will easily assent unto, when they shall be truly informed therein<sup>1</sup>.

It was then enacted that a special registrar should be appointed to record all contracts made between the company's agent and the purchasers. Expeditious procedure for the recovery of debts was specially provided. On the request of the company's agent, a special court would be convened by the governor, at twenty-four hours' notice and without special fees: the registrar's entry would be accepted as proof of purchase, and execution would issue with costs within three days of judgment. Despite this tempting bait the company adhered to their plan of using Nevis as a *depôt*, probably because it facilitated their administration and rendered unnecessary the expense of maintaining agents in each island. During the thirteen years from the founding of the company to 1686, only one cargo, of 210 slaves, was shipped direct to Antigua. This same complaint is echoed a few years later when in 1680 the councils of the islands began, according to instructions, to communicate direct with the Lords of Trade and Plantations. The Council of St Christopher reported that the company had never vouchsafed to supply the island with more than "one inconsiderable vessel." They begged that

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Leeward Islands, pp. 49-50.



the company might be ordered to supply them regularly, or that they might be allowed to shift for themselves,

it being as hard a matter altogether and as great a bondage for His Majesty's subjects to cultivate his Plantations here without negro slaves as for the Egyptians to make bricks without straw<sup>1</sup>.

Montserrat made the same complaint; since the capture of the island by the French only two small ships of the company had called at the island, and of the 300 slaves they brought, half were already dead. This lack of slaves meant that the islanders were forced to cultivate small plantations of tobacco and indigo, of which the first was unsuited to the soil of the island while the second was of but little value. A constant supply of slaves was essential to the development of the island<sup>2</sup>. These are, of course, complaints of the outlying islands, jealous that Nevis as the distributing point should have first pick of the negroes that arrived. From that island there are practically no complaints, and the steady supply and liberal credit allowed by the company enabled the planters to absorb a great many slaves, until their debts mounted so high that the company was forced to put pressure on them by cutting off the supply.

The company's agents for the Leeward Islands were William Freeman, a St Christopher planter, who owned a large estate on that island but was unable to force the French holder to give it up, Henry Carpenter and Richard Helmes<sup>3</sup>. These three acted together for the company, negotiating the sales of the cargoes as they arrived at Nevis, keeping a record of the planters' debts and accounting for them to the company, collecting and forwarding the sugar, sometimes on the company's ships, sometimes on other ships when necessary. Besides acting as agents for the sale of the company's negroes, they were expected to keep a sharp watch on the ships' captains, to make sure they sold no negroes privately for their own profit. This was a common

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1441 (12. 7. 80). The cargo referred to must have arrived in 1674 or earlier. The only cargo that arrived at St Christopher between 1674 and 1686 was one of 70 slaves in 1682.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1442 (Council Montserrat—*L.T.P.*, 13. 7. 80). One cargo of 153 slaves arrived in 1679. The other must have been in 1674 or earlier.

<sup>3</sup> Later Helmes' place was taken by Thomas Belchamber who had been a prominent negro smuggler at Nevis. *Jeaff. MSS.* 11, 258.

practice, hard to check, as the trade was lucrative both to captain and to planter, and thus it was very difficult to obtain the necessary proof. The agents protested against ships consigned to Nevis calling at Barbados, as this was quite unnecessary and merely an opportunity for the captain to sell negroes there<sup>1</sup>. In Dec. 1681, Capt. Cope of the 'George and Betty' was charged with having landed 30 negroes at Antigua before coming to Nevis<sup>2</sup>. Two years later Capt. Maples of the 'John and Thomas' actually managed to "run" 14 negroes at Nevis itself, but this

Table IV

Slaves imported into the Leeward Islands, by the  
Royal African Company, 1674-1686.

Year	Number of ships	Slaves imported into L.I.	Total No. of slaves imported to America by R.A.C.	Outstanding debts from L.I. to R.A.C. at end of year	
				£	s. d.
1674	2	479	—	—	—
1675	3	503	—	—	—
1676	4	575	—	—	—
1677	2	525	—	—	—
1678	4	763	—	—	—
1679	6	1061	—	—	—
1680	4	1025	3751	—	—
1681	6	829	4989	36,134	2 3
1682	7	1229	4494	39,534	7 8
1683	2	159	6488	37,129	9 6
1684	0	0	3845	31,079	11 2
1685	1	146	6304	22,805	18 10
1686	4	431	6812	—	—

Compiled from the books of Royal African Company. See Note B at end of chapter. Col. 5 does not include the debts of the Royal Adventurers contracted before the formation of the Royal African Company and written off by the new company as irrecoverable.

was discovered and a fine of £140 imposed for breach of charter-party<sup>3</sup>.

The numbers imported rose steadily from at least 479 in 1674 to well over a thousand in 1679, and they remained at that figure for four years, except in 1681, when they fell to 829. Meanwhile the debts owing to the company had grown enormously: by the end of 1682 they amounted to close on £40,000,

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/1, p. 72 (Agents—R.A.C., 25. 11. 80).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 70/16 (Agents—R.A.C., 29. 5. 82).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 70/315, p. 76 (journal entry dated 30. 6. 84).

and the company decided to take steps to force the islanders to pay. The factors at Nevis had made up their books very carefully, and Freeman and Helmes had gone to England in the autumn of 1680 to consult their superiors<sup>1</sup>. They returned next year, and explained the care with which they were endeavouring to secure payment.

It being customary here in the months of November, December and January to accompt with all debtors for ye sugar that we have received of them and take under their hands for the Balance, thereby to prevent the pretences that they usually make at the courts to delay judgment for which they have many tricks now more than ever<sup>2</sup>.

The following year they explained the difficulty of securing payment in Antigua because of the great drought there, and the consequent failure of the crops and impoverishment of the planters<sup>3</sup>. The recovery of debts was also hindered by local legislation, whereby the creditor was forced to take the debtor's property at an exorbitant valuation and even to repay him the balance<sup>4</sup>. These arguments forced the company to act, and they cut off the supply of slaves. In 1683 only two ships arrived with 159 negroes, next year none were brought at all, and, as debts had been assiduously collected the whole time, the outstanding balance fell to just over £31,000. In 1685 one ship only arrived, and the amount owing at the end of the year was about £23,000. This was a better state of affairs, and the company began to import more freely, sending four ships in 1686, with 431 negroes<sup>5</sup>. The difficulty of collecting the debts, however, was still a pressing problem, and when in 1686 St Christopher again attempted to secure direct shipment to the island, it met with a rebuff. Christopher Jeaffreson, the newly-appointed agent for the island, reported his efforts to the deputy-governor of St Christopher.

Perceiving that the Royal African Company had not of late ordered any ship to supply the Leeward Islands with negroes and that one ship, hired for St Christopher's, had, on the petition of the owners,

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/15 (Carpenter—R.A.C., 25. 11. 80).

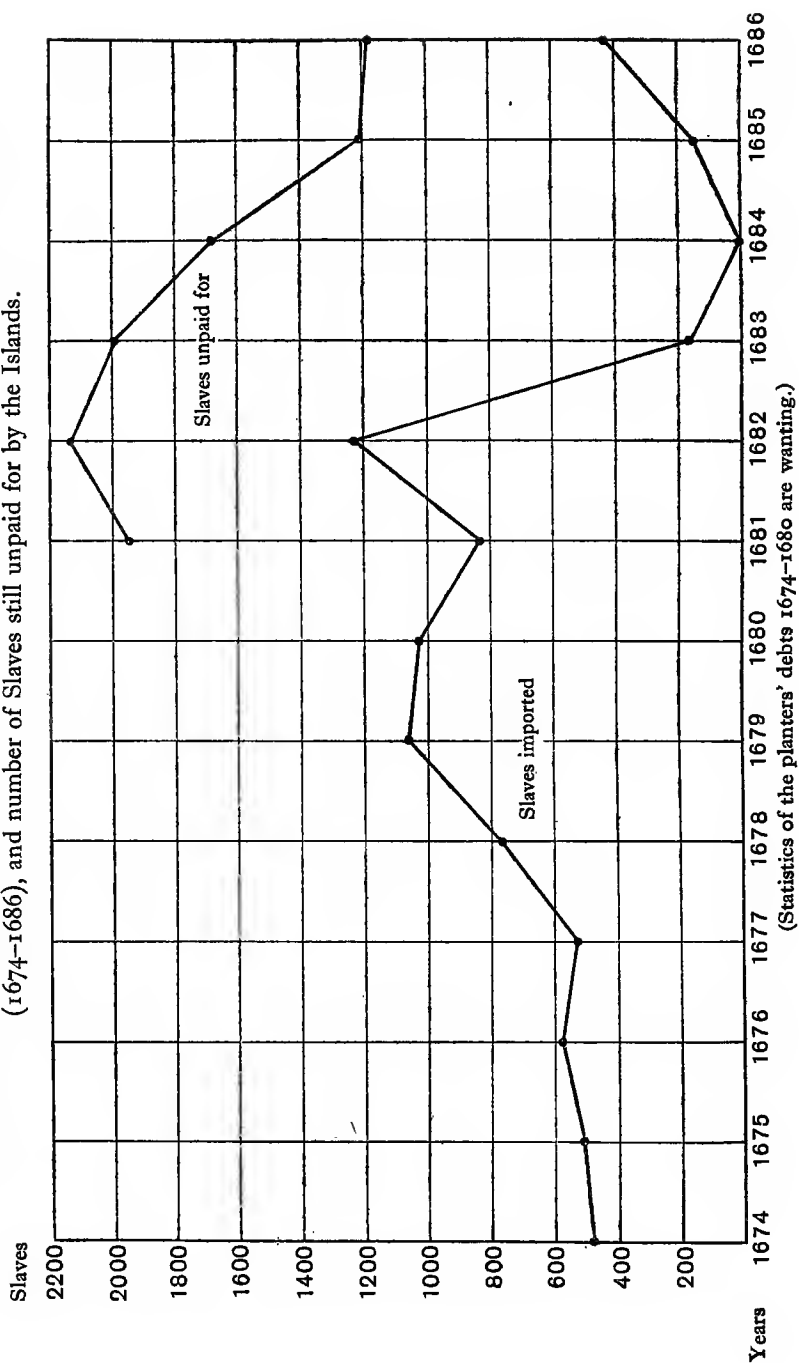
<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 70/16, p. 3 (Agents—R.A.C., 18. 6. 81).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (8. 5. 82).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* (21. 4. 83).

<sup>5</sup> See table of imports opposite, and Diagram II, to face p. 157. The number of slaves still unpaid for is calculated from the average price of negroes as shown in Table VI, facing p. 160.

DIAGRAM II. Number of Slaves imported into the Leeward Islands by the Royal African Company (1674-1686), and number of Slaves still unpaid for by the Islands.



her voyage altered, so that at this tyme there is no ship upon the coast, nor any provision made to supply your Island or any other under our General's government, I thought it very necessary to put the Company in mind of your letter to them; which I did last Thursday, and met with a cold reception from the Committee. Sir Benjamin Bathurst, the Deputy-Governor, answered me that the Company had received very great losses by that trade, and that your Island was much indebted to them, that they did send supplies to Nevis and that St Christopher's, which was a very small colony, might supply themselves from thence if they pleased; but that if any person would purchase a ship's loading of them for St Christopher's they would furnish them and give good tyme for the payment of the money. I replied that to my knowledge St Christopher's made as good payments as any of the islands, and that it was very considerable, and capable to take off 900 or a thousand negroes in a year's tyme; but for purchasing negroes here I could say little, there being few of that island provided with such stocks in England as to make that purchase, Considering we had no other way or means to furnish ourselves with slaves, our dependency was upon them, that they would send us supplies upon the same terms as they did to the other islands<sup>1</sup>.

The interests of planters and merchants were generally in conflict, and as the planters alone had power to make what laws and regulations they pleased in their local Assemblies, the merchants were forced either to petition the home authorities or to take direct action against the planters by refusing to send any further shipments. The planters' law-making power was soon used to free them from the unpleasant procedure of distraint for debt. The old method of debt recovery was for the creditor to sue the debtor in the local court, and obtain an order which empowered the provost-marshal to sell the debtor's goods or lands by public outcry (auction). After paying the debt the marshal returned any balance to the debtor. This procedure was early found to be very prejudicial to the planters: they claimed that a man was often sold up for petty debts, or that by losing his negroes he lost his power of working his whole plantation. Antigua met this problem by passing the "Act of Extent" in 1669<sup>2</sup>. This Act declared that in case of debt the goods of the debtor were to be valued by sworn appraisers, and

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS. 11, 271-3 (Jeaffreson—Col. Hill, 2. 3. 86).

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., III, 134 (21. 10. 69).

then be taken over by the creditor, in a fixed order, in settlement of his debt. Indentured servants were for this purpose regarded as chattels, but slaves were declared to be "estate of inheritance," and thus attached to the freehold. If the debtor's personal property was insufficient to satisfy the claims upon it, the creditor was forced to accept and work his plantation. For this purpose the land was reckoned to be worth 50 lbs. of sugar (or tobacco) per annum per acre of cleared land, and the labour of the slaves was to be settled by valuation. This procedure, greatly as it told against the creditor, was rendered yet more one-sided

Table V

Mortality Statistics of the Middle Passage  
(Slaves shipped by R.A.C., 1680-88).

Year	Number of ships	Negroes shipped from Africa	Negroes delivered in America	Loss %
1680	24	5190	3751	27 $\frac{3}{4}$
1681	22	6327	4989	21 $\frac{1}{4}$
1682	31	6330	4494	29
1683	35	9081	6488	28 $\frac{1}{2}$
1684	22	5384	3845	28 $\frac{3}{4}$
1685	35	8658	6304	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
1686	31	8355	6812	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
1687	24	5606	4777	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
1688	25	5852	4936	15 $\frac{3}{4}$

Report of Committee of Privy Council on Trade to Africa (1789).  
Pt IV, No. 5, App. B.

by the rating of sugar at 3*d.* per lb., about twice its market value, and by the proviso that for every extra acre of land he cleared, the creditor was to allow the debtor 50 lbs. per annum. Such a partisan measure could not long continue, and in 1676 it was amended: sugar was rated at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per lb. and the value of any newly cleared land was to be decided by appraisers<sup>1</sup>. Even in its modified form the Act was a big hindrance to trade, and Stapleton reported very strongly against it, regretting that it had been passed before his governorship. He managed to pass a special Act excluding defaulting agents from the benefit of its terms, and his honest opposition backed by a petition of mer-

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 804 (5. 1. 76); cf. 583.

chants secured the repeal of the Act in 1683<sup>1</sup>. The other islands were equally anxious to protect the planter from the disaster of being sold up, but their methods were not so obviously unfair. At Nevis it took the mild form of substituting valuation by two planters and two merchants, to be appointed by the governor, for the old method of sale by public auction. If the debt were not settled within a month from the date of valuation, the creditor had to take over the estate or goods, and pay any balance to the debtor<sup>2</sup>. At St Christopher the Act of Extent was adopted in a very modified form. All the debtor's possessions, both real and personal, were to be let by outcry: from this annual rent the court was to appoint a modest sum for the debtor's needs, and the balance was to be paid to the creditor until the debt was discharged<sup>3</sup>.

It was in face of such laws as these that the agents of the Royal African Company strove to obtain payment for the large numbers of negroes delivered at Nevis and sold to the planters of the four islands. Nevis itself could hardly grumble at a lack of negroes, but the quality of the slaves delivered was a frequent cause of complaint duly reported by the company's agents. The loss during the "middle passage," due to overcrowding and to keeping the majority of the negroes in irons during the voyage, was very high, although both captain and doctor received pay calculated on the number of live negroes delivered at the islands. Thus in 1677 the 'Dragon' lost 82 slaves out of a cargo of 453, or 20 per cent.<sup>4</sup>: in 1679, out of a cargo of 191 on the 'Hawke' from Calabar, 38 died on the voyage<sup>5</sup>, while in the following year, of 260 negroes landed from the 'Dragon,' 52 died ashore before they could be sold<sup>6</sup>. The planters were very critical of the slaves they were to buy, and frequently grumbled that the company was only sending them inferior negroes.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 188, 654 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 26. 7. 81 and 16. 8. 82). *Acts L.I.*, p. 72. *C.S.P.*, vi, 1333 (petition, 26. 10. 83), 1478 (order for repeal, 12. 12. 83). *P.C. Cal.*, II, 826. The islanders were loth to see the Act go, and made some opposition. *C.S.P.*, vii, 166 (mins. *L.T.P.*, 5. 3. 85).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 570 (Act concerning Outcries, 26. 5. 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 833 (Act of Extent, 15. 5. 72).

<sup>4</sup> *Treas.* 70/937 (5. 2. 77).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (Agents—*R.A.C.*, 4. 7. 79).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 70/939 (2. 6. 80).

The country complains much of them and hopes the Company will in their favour order an Angola ship or two, or from Cape Coast wholly to load with Mina negroes<sup>1</sup>.

In 1679 the company altered its policy and sent a ship direct to Antigua: the agents sold them for about £23 per head.

We...have endeavoured to put them into the Best and Securest hands in Antigua, and we design to load the 'Welcome' from thence wholly for your account which may bring at least 350 hogsheads of sugar<sup>2</sup>.

Despite this care the debts at Antigua proved the hardest to collect. The agents continually complain of the poor quality of the negroes. "The parcel of negroes were very meane<sup>3</sup>." "These...included some little boys and dying negroes<sup>4</sup>." Of a cargo of 97 negroes brought by the 'Swallow' in 1681 they reported: "They...were the worst that came here and sold at much less than any yett ever did, there was not 10 choyce men among them<sup>5</sup>." Besides the bad condition in which the slaves were delivered, the agents frequently reported the large proportion of women and children in their cargoes: this was a cause of complaint among the planters who wished for men to work the plantations. In 1681 out of a cargo of 415 brought by the 'George and Betty,' there were 80 children and a large number of women. The agents protested to the captain against this as a breach of charter-party, but he replied that it was impossible to purchase grown-up slaves without the children: "but wee believe something else in it which wee hope soon to prove<sup>6</sup>." The negroes were sold by the agents to the highest bidders, the most stalwart were quickly got rid of, but the balance were generally left on the agent's hands for some time, though they were frequently lumped together and sold as "refuse" to some

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 3. 1. 79). Despite the complaints, this cargo fetched about £20. 9s. 9d. per head.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 11. 3. 79).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (4. 7. 79).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (5. 1. 80). A hundred "refuse" negroes from Barbados were reported to be "very bad, being much abused" (18. 6. 79).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 20. 1. 81). The average price paid for this cargo was 10 guineas each. See Table VI.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (*ib.* 24. 12. 81). Capt. Cope was subsequently accused of having landed 30 men of this cargo at Antigua before coming to Nevis *Ib.* sub date 29. 5. 82.



Table VI

Average prices of negroes sold in the Leeward Islands  
by the Royal African Company, 1674-1686.

Date of cargo	Number sold	Total lbs. sugar	Price per head		Remarks
			lbs. sugar	sterling £ s. d.	
4.12.74	192	651,140	3391	21 3 10	
31.12.74	263	893,120	3396	21 4 6	
20. 2.75	72	236,660	3287	20 10 10	
25. 3.75	105	308,660	2939	18 7 4	
24. 5.75	312	1,107,200	3549	22 3 7	
22. 1.76	154	483,280	3138	19 12 3	
8. 4.76	92	283,160	3078	19 4 9	
15. 5.76	100	311,420	3114	19 9 3	
20. 6.76	215	612,560	2849	17 16 5	
5. 2.77	371	1,206,620	3252	20 6 6	
20.12.77	124	436,700	3522	20 0 3	
20. 3.78	140	—	—	16 0 0	Contract
22. 5.78	106	402,220	3794	23 4 3	
25. 6.78	146	479,250	3282	20 10 3	
1.11.78	242	793,500	3279	20 9 10	"The country com- plains much of them"
1. 3.79	165	610,950	3703	23 2 10	Sold at Antigua
10. 3.79	168	533,900	3178	19 17 3	Sell badly because many women
5. 6.79	101	308,690	3056	19 2 0	"Refuse" from Bar- bados
23. 7.79	117	413,000	3530	22 1 3	Sold at Montserrat, "very mean parcel"
20. 9.79	213	—	—	16 0 0	Contract
18.10.79	163	527,560	3238	20 4 8	
11. 2.80	163	529,880	3312	20 14 0	
13. 4.80	108	335,000	3103	19 7 10	
26. 5.80	351	1,105,000	3148	19 13 6	80 children
2. 6.80	165	535,900	3248	20 6 0	
12. 1.81	71	199,721	2813	17 11 7	"The worst that came here"
10. 3.81	74	218,900	2958	18 9 9	"Old Calabar negroes and many women"
16. 6.81	70	231,400	3306	20 13 2	
22. 6.81	91	266,100	2924	18 5 6	
30. 9.81	44	122,600	2786	17 8 3	
12. 1.82	230	620,034	2696	16 17 0	"Mostly women"
14. 1.82	301	819,651	2723	17 0 5	"80 children and many women"
24. 3.82	92	287,059	3120	19 10 0	Sold at S. C.
8. 5.82	355	—	—	16 0 0	Contract: Bills of Ex- change for £5680
29. 5.82	216	—	—	16 0 0	Contract
16. 6.82	21	66,800	3181	19 7 7	Sold at Montserrat
1.11.82	93	288,565	3103	19 7 10	
13.11.82	43	124,900	2905	18 3 1	Sold at S. C.
10. 1.83	20	?	?	?	
12.11.83	104	300,650	2891	18 1 4	
April 85	146	?	?	?	
5. 1.86	51	156,760	3054	19 1 8	
8. 4.86	110	401,160	3647	22 15 10	
19. 6.86	86	294,400	3423	21 7 11	
5.10.86	101	385,000	3812	23 16 5	

Columns 1, 2, 3 and 6 compiled from Books of Royal African Co. (see Note B at end of chapter). The value of sugar is calculated at 12/6 per 100 lbs.: the normal rate of exchange accepted by the Company during this period.

The country complains much of them and hopes the Company will in their favour order an Angola ship or two, or from Cape Coast wholly to load with Mina negroes<sup>1</sup>.

In 1679 the company altered its policy and sent a ship direct to Antigua: the agents sold them for about £23 per head.

We...have endeavoured to put them into the Best and Securest hands in Antigua, and we design to load the 'Welcome' from thence wholly for your account which may bring at least 350 hogsheads of sugar<sup>2</sup>.

Despite this care the debts at Antigua proved the hardest to collect. The agents continually complain of the poor quality of the negroes. "The parcel of negroes were very meane<sup>3</sup>." "These...included some little boys and dying negroes<sup>4</sup>." Of a cargo of 97 negroes brought by the 'Swallow' in 1681 they reported: "They...were the worst that came here and sold at much less than any yett ever did, there was not 10 choyce men among them<sup>5</sup>." Besides the bad condition in which the slaves were delivered, the agents frequently reported the large proportion of women and children in their cargoes: this was a cause of complaint among the planters who wished for men to work the plantations. In 1681 out of a cargo of 415 brought by the 'George and Betty,' there were 80 children and a large number of women. The agents protested to the captain against this as a breach of charter-party, but he replied that it was impossible to purchase grown-up slaves without the children: "but wee believe something else in it which wee hope soon to prove<sup>6</sup>." The negroes were sold by the agents to the highest bidders, the most stalwart were quickly got rid of, but the balance were generally left on the agent's hands for some time, though they were frequently lumped together and sold as "refuse" to some

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 3. 1. 79). Despite the complaints, this cargo fetched about £20. 9s. 9d. per head.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 11. 3. 79). <sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (4. 7. 79).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (5. 1. 80). A hundred "refuse" negroes from Barbados were reported to be "very bad, being much abused" (18. 6. 79).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 20. 1. 81). The average price paid for this cargo was 10 guineas each. See Table VI.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 70/15 (*ib.* 24. 12. 81). Capt. Cope was subsequently accused of having landed 30 men of this cargo at Antigua before coming to Nevis *Ib.* sub date 29. 5. 82.

Table VI

Average prices of negroes sold in the Leeward Islands  
by the Royal African Company, 1674-1686.

Date of cargo	Number sold	Total lbs. sugar	Price per head			Remarks	
			lbs. sugar	sterling £ s. d.			
4.12.74	192	651,140	3391	21	3	10	
31.12.74	263	893,120	3396	21	4	6	
20. 2.75	72	236,660	3287	20	10	10	
25. 3.75	105	308,660	2939	18	7	4	
24. 5.75	312	1,107,200	3549	22	3	7	
22. 1.76	154	483,280	3138	19	12	3	
8. 4.76	92	283,160	3078	19	4	9	
15. 5.76	100	311,420	3114	19	9	3	
20. 6.76	215	612,560	2849	17	16	5	
5. 2.77	371	1,206,620	3252	20	6	6	
20.12.77	124	436,700	3522	20	0	3	
20. 3.78	140	—	—	16	0	0	Contract
22. 5.78	106	402,220	3794	23	4	3	
25. 6.78	146	479,250	3282	20	10	3	
1.11.78	242	793,500	3279	20	9	10	"The country complains much of them"
1. 3.79	165	610,950	3703	23	2	10	Sold at Antigua
10. 3.79	168	533,900	3178	19	17	3	Sell badly because many women
5. 6.79	101	308,690	3056	19	2	0	"Refuse" from Barbados
23. 7.79	117	413,000	3530	22	1	3	Sold at Montserrat, "very mean parcel"
20. 9.79	213	—	—	16	0	0	Contract
18.10.79	163	527,560	3238	20	4	8	
11. 2.80	163	529,880	3312	20	14	0	
13. 4.80	108	335,000	3103	19	7	10	
26. 5.80	351	1,105,000	3148	19	13	6	80 children
2. 6.80	165	535,900	3248	20	6	0	
12. 1.81	71	199,721	2813	17	11	7	"The worst that came here"
10. 3.81	74	218,900	2958	18	9	9	"Old Calabar negroes and many women"
16. 6.81	70	231,400	3306	20	13	2	
22. 6.81	91	266,100	2924	18	5	6	
30. 9.81	44	122,600	2786	17	8	3	
12. 1.82	230	620,034	2696	16	17	0	"Mostly women"
14. 1.82	301	819,051	2723	17	0	5	"80 children and many women"
24. 3.82	92	287,050	3120	19	10	0	Sold at S. C.
8. 5.82	355	—	—	16	0	0	Contract: Bills of Exchange for £5680
29. 5.82	216	—	—	16	0	0	Contract
16. 6.82	21	66,800	3181	19	7	7	Sold at Montserrat
1.11.82	93	288,565	3103	19	7	10	
13.11.82	43	124,900	2905	18	3	1	Sold at S. C.
10. 1.83	20	?	?	?			
12.11.83	104	300,650	2891	18	1	4	
April 85	146	?	?	?			
5. 1.86	51	156,760	3054	19	1	8	
8. 4.86	110	401,160	3647	22	15	10	
19. 6.86	86	294,400	3423	21	7	11	
5.10.86	101	385,000	3812	23	16	5	

Columns 1, 2, 3 and 6 compiled from Books of Royal African Co. (see Note B at end of chapter). The value of sugar is calculated at 12/6 per 100 lbs.: the normal rate of exchange accepted by the Company during this period.

hard-hearted speculator. Only a few cargoes were delivered on contract during this period. In Sept. 1679 a cargo of 213 negroes from the 'Supply' was sold to John Lucas, on account of Alderman Richard Booth, a rich merchant of London, at the contract price of £16 per head<sup>1</sup>. Three years later another firm contracted for a ship load, and received 216 negroes under the same conditions. They had however made a bad speculation: negroes were plentiful at Nevis in 1682, for the number imported that year reached its maximum of 1229. The firm were only able to sell 70 of their total purchase<sup>2</sup>.

The monopoly of the company was constantly infringed by the private traders or interlopers, who were generally able to undersell the company since they had not to pay towards the heavy expenses of the upkeep of forts and trading stations. The interlopers were openly encouraged by the planters, and there was a continual contest between them and the company's agents. It was the duty of the King's ships to uphold the company's charter and prevent illegal trading: but the Leeward Islands were provided only irregularly with patrols. In the summer of 1679 when H.M.S. 'Quaker' had gone home and her relief, the 'Deptford' ketch, had not arrived, the agents were forced to shift for themselves. Rumour told them of the landing of negroes at night by Philip Lee, Speaker of the local Assembly, and Thomas Belchamber, who was later employed by the company as their agent. Seeing a suspicious sloop at anchor, the agents bore down on her in the twilight, in their sloop the 'Africa.' "Do you mean to be on board of us," was the hail; and the reply "Ay, by God." In the *mêlée* a second sloop came up and opened fire on the 'Africa,' thinking she was a pirate as was afterwards alleged, and killed John Starkey, one of the company's men. The ensuing trial was unsatisfactory, both sides accusing the other of riot and piracy, and on a re-trial, ordered by the Lords of Trade, the case fell through for lack of evidence<sup>3</sup>. Next year an interloper, Thornbury, was more

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/15 (Agents—R.A.C., 23. 9. 79). In the previous year a cargo of 140 ex 'Margaret and Mary' were supplied to contractors.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (29. 5. 82).

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., VI, 1214, 1277, 1632 (Stapleton's reply, 12. 4. 84, enclosing copies of all the proceedings). C.S.P., V, 1440 (the original copies of indict-

successful, and managed to land 80 negroes at Stanley Bay, Nevis, despite the agents' protest. They obtained a warrant from Stapleton, but the island Marshal neglected to act, and in attempting themselves to prevent this smuggling, they nearly lost their lives.

We...were prevented by Mr Philip Lee, Speaker of the Assembly, who first drew his sword and bid defiance to any that would seize them, together with Mr Richard Cary, Thomas Belchamber, Lt J. Stokwell, Ensign J. Standley and one Austerman, all standing with their swords pointing to our breasts, and some their pistols, swearing bitterly that they would kill that man that would offer to seize a negro, there notwithstanding they had at that very instant the General's order read to them, commanding all his Commissioned officers to assist us in the seizing of the negroes.... The next day we acquainted the General, who gave us this answer that he knew no law to punish them for it, but that he would acquaint the King thereof.... It would be a great satisfaction to us that our prosecution of the interlopers would take some effect, we will not be wanting in any our duty herein, and should be heartily glad to see so much countenance from England as might discountenance those that countenance them<sup>1</sup>.

At the same time however the agents were careful to send home a letter emphasising the fact that Stapleton had always given them assistance when they appealed to him, but later when Freeman was in England it was hinted that the governor was not so forward in helping the Royal Company as he might be, and Stapleton protested strongly against their suggestions<sup>2</sup>.

At the end of 1680, despite Stapleton's frequent requests for a "vessel of countenance," the 'Deptford' ketch which had but recently been sent home, was sent out once more, and this commission she was commanded by Christopher Billop, a large-voiced, insolent man who soon made himself objectionable to all concerned. He regarded the performance of his duty as a ready way of making money, and not content with his legitimate share of captured vessels, he lined his pocket by

ments, etc.); cf. 1418. Treas. 70/1 (15. 7. 79). The planter Grand Jury returned a convenient Ignoramus, except in the case of one man who was promptly acquitted by the Petty Jury.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1454 (Agents—R.A.C., 16. 7. 80); Treas. 70/15, pp. 53-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* v, 1455 (18. 7. 80); cf. the correspondence about Starkey's death cited in Note 3, p. 162, above.

stealing their guns or allowing them to go free for a bribe. An interloper, the 'Isabella' of Bristol, was captured by Billop and duly condemned and sold, but in June 1682 his behaviour after seizing the 'Providence' of London, brought down Stapleton's wrath on his head<sup>1</sup>. Seeing this vessel cruising on and off, Stapleton sent Billop to examine her; she resisted search, and after a short action was captured and taken to St Christopher, although the wind was fair for making Nevis. Billop proceeded to embezzle her cargo, sell as many negroes as he dared, and only when he had made his fortune, submitted the ship for condemnation. The very planters who were concerned in previous smuggling enterprises showed righteous indignation at this behaviour; they pointed out that they had unanimously condemned the ship and cargo, but that no one had any right to touch the goods until so condemned<sup>2</sup>. Stapleton was indignant at Billop's impudent behaviour, while his subsequent defiance of authority drove the governor to fury. Stapleton summoned him to report ashore, and Billop's answer was to desert his post and sail for England. "The ill behaviour of this man cannot be paralleled, or at leastwise I never saw or heard of such a contempt from any subaltern officer to his superior<sup>3</sup>." The Lords of Trade proposed that Billop's pay should be stopped, and that he should be dismissed from the service, but at the enquiry before the Commissioners of the Admiralty he was cleared, and managed to postpone further enquiry<sup>4</sup>. Billop at once began to talk boldly, posing as a great enemy to the interlopers, and spreading damaging reports about the planters and their governor.

He will scarce allow any honest man to live in the Leeward Islands, wrote Jeaffreson. He is a professed enemy of all sorts of interlopers, and declares himself to be so publickly. It is certainly no small oversight in the Royal Company and other Companies, that are

<sup>1</sup> Treas. 70/16 (Agents—R.A.C., 6.4.82). The 'Isabella' sold for £137.5s.6d. For Billop's account of the whole affair, see his log (Admiralty—Captains' Logs, No. 289, H.M.S. 'Deptford').

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., vi, 601 (Council of Nevis—L.T.P., 6.7.82).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 604 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 7.7.82), 545, 572, 601-604, 607-608, 1222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 66 (draft report, L.T.P.—King, 24.8.82). Jeaff. MSS., i, 329 (Jeaffreson—Stapleton, n.d.).

infected with interlopers, not to procure a commission for him, who is so ready to scour the seas of these their adversaries<sup>1</sup>.

Billop's scurrilous language landed him in a duel with John Nethway, one of the planters he had traduced, who called him out on 'Change, but he continued his campaign of abuse and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was destined to be Stapleton's successor.

During the thirteen years from 1674 to 1686 the Royal Company brought close on 8000 slaves to the Leeward Islands; of the numbers smuggled by the interlopers there is naturally no record, but they were not inconsiderable<sup>2</sup>. This vast influx of negroes, who were always regarded as potential enemies, soon alarmed the planters, and they endeavoured by every means to increase the number of whites in the islands. Laws were passed in the local assemblies offering special advantages to merchants who should import indentured servants, and it was soon found necessary to regulate the proportion of white labour that was to be employed by every slave-owning planter. At Antigua the problem of absentee proprietors, who held large tracts of land but made no real attempt to develop their estates, was peculiarly pressing, and a special proviso was made in the Act which was passed to confirm titles after the Peace of Breda. It was enacted that a "labouring person" must be brought to the island for every ten acres of land taken up: estates were limited to 600 acres, and the "hands" had to be brought to the island one quarter within six months, and the remainder within two years<sup>3</sup>. This Act did not apply to planters already residing on the island. The term "hands" covered both servants and slaves, and the growth of slave labour soon made further legislation necessary. In 1677 the local assembly passed a law forcing every employer to maintain one white servant for every 10 slaves: although he might not be able to obtain the necessary number immediately, he was to be responsible for guard duties

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 37 (C. J.—his agent Thorn, I. 3. 83).

<sup>2</sup> Even if the interlopers were captured the slaves were sold in the islands.

<sup>3</sup> Acts of Leeward Islands, p. 30 (Act for re-settlement, II. 4. 68). Next year it was provided that returns should be made showing the number of "hands" employed under this Act. *Ib.* 39-40.

calculated on the basis of his full establishment of whites<sup>1</sup>. This law was not wholly effective, and two years later a yet more stringent measure was passed. The prices at which servants were to be sold was definitely fixed, and the governor was empowered, in case the planters were backward in purchasing, to allot the servants to those whose numbers were still deficient under the earlier Act, and to levy payment if necessary<sup>2</sup>. At St Christopher the problem was complicated by another factor, the presence of the French. In June 1672, soon after the sovereignty had been returned to the English, an Act was passed forcing all aliens to keep one armed man resident on their plantation, for every ten acres they held<sup>3</sup>. The negro question soon became pressing, and in 1679 St Christopher adopted the Antiguan legislation with slight modifications. One white servant of British nationality was to be kept for every ten slaves; any planter who was in arrears and refused to purchase servants, if offered for not more than 1800 lbs. of sugar, was to be heavily fined<sup>4</sup>. Three years later the law of 1672 was re-enacted with more stringent provisions. Every resident French proprietor was to have as many English servants as he had Frenchmen in his family; the non-resident were to maintain one British servant for every ten acres<sup>5</sup>. Neither Montserrat nor Nevis found it necessary to pass such laws: the former absorbed but few slaves while the latter was then the metropolis of the islands.

White indentured servants were drawn from three sources. There were free emigrants who voluntarily bound themselves to serve for a term of years in return for their passage and a bounty at the end of their service; there were malefactors who were released from prison on condition that they served in the colonies as indentured servants; and there were, when occasion offered, political prisoners, shipped off in virtual slavery. Besides regulating by law the number of servants to be possessed by every planter, the local assemblies endeavoured to stimulate the supply of voluntary servants by standardising the conditions and

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 548 (Act of 5. 7. 77).

<sup>2</sup> Acts Leeward Islands, p. 68 (Act of 15. 7. 79; C.O. 154/2, 340).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 832 (Act for re-settlement, 24. 6. 72).

<sup>4</sup> C.O. 154/2, p. 23 (Act encouraging merchants to import servants, 22. 10. 79).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 772 (Act for better re-settlement, 25. 2. 82).



length of service, and by regulating the bounties. Thus Wheler passed an Act at Nevis in 1672 allowing a bounty of 400 lbs. of sugar as an equivalent for the £10 contracted for by the servant: servants over 16 years of age were to serve for four years, those under 16 for seven<sup>1</sup>. By this enactment sugar was much over-rated, and three years later the equivalent bounty was raised to 800 lbs., the Act stating that the earlier arrangement was "made when sugar bore such rates<sup>2</sup>." Even by this new law the planters lined their pockets, for the normal value of sugar was 1½*d.* per lb., and at this rate 800 lbs. was only equivalent to £5 sterling<sup>3</sup>. Such an attempt to juggle with the rate of exchange was a common trick of the planters, which did not always turn out successfully. At the same time it was provided that all indentured should be entered in the Secretary's office: servants who had arrived without any settled indentures were to serve as provided in the Act of 1672<sup>4</sup>. By 1680 however 800 lbs. was thought too large a bounty.

It having been found tending much to the Discouragement of the Inhabitants of this Island, for buying Servants here imported, by reason of such great Wages, the Prices of Servants of late being also very considerable.

The old rate of 400 lbs. of Muscovado sugar was therefore re-established, and at that sum the bounty remained<sup>5</sup>. No special legislation of this sort was passed at St Christopher, but 400 lbs. was the recognised bounty<sup>6</sup>. There was no similar legislation at Montserrat, it was the most backward of the islands, being inhabited largely by Irish who were in very ill-repute with their neighbours, but Antigua early regulated this matter. By an Act of 1669 it was declared that as there had been many irregularities and disputes concerning the conditions of indentured labour, all agreements were to be scrupulously carried out. Payments of sugar or tobacco to servants

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1013.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 570 (Act encouraging import of servants, 26. 5. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Even by the Nevis Act of 1672 which rated sugar at 1*s.* per 100 lbs. (*C.S.P.*, III, 1013), this bounty was only equivalent to £6 sterling.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 570 (Act 26 May, 75).

<sup>5</sup> Acts of Nevis, pp. 10-11 (Act for encouraging buyers of servants, 8. 5. 80). This Act had not been repealed by 1740, when the island Acts were printed.

<sup>6</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 257 (C. J.—Poyntz, 6. 5. 81); compare 208.

were to be rated at 6*d.* per lb. Verbal agreements were not to be binding unless made before competent witnesses and the length of services so stipulated was not to be exceeded. Servants who landed without indentures were to serve for 4 years if over 20 years of age, for 5 years if between 16 and 20, and 7 years if younger than that. In return they were to be provided with clothes, and a bounty on conclusion of contract of 400 lbs. of sugar. Complaints of any neglect by their masters, or breach of contract, might be made by the aggrieved servant to the local magistrate<sup>1</sup>.

Servants were imported by merchants and regarded, for the time of their indentures, almost as slaves. They were bought by the planter from the merchant as were the slaves, and might be transferred to another master. The prices to be paid to merchants were standardised by the Assembly of Antigua in 1679 at 1700 lbs. for servants under 16 years old, and 2000 lbs. for those over that age, but in the other islands prices were left to mutual agreement<sup>2</sup>. The trade in servants had become very lucrative, but the demand largely exceeded the supply of persons who were ready to bind themselves for a period of years. Since there was money in it the merchants were not to be denied, and they stooped to all manner of shady tricks to obtain their living cargoes when the tempting bait of a free passage to Nevis and 400 lbs. of sugar in four years' time proved a failure. Crimps were active in every port and people of all classes, and every age, were "spirited" aboard ship and found themselves converted perforce into colonists. There was little hope for an unwilling "servant" when once he was aboard ship, for the boldness and impudence of the captains was only exceeded by the readiness with which the planters would accept without question anyone with a pair of hands. The abuse became a theme for popular ballads and stories, and, despite the continued attempts of the

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 134 (Act of 21. 10. 69). This rating of sugar at 6*d.* per lb. was a palpable fraud at the expense of the servants. In 1684 an Act was passed to enable servants to recover their bounty by applying to the J. P. See Acts of Leeward Islands, p. 73 (28. 10. 84).

<sup>2</sup> *C.O.* 154/2, p. 340 (Act of 15. 7. 79). 1800 lbs. was thought a fair price at St Christopher, *ib.* p. 23-4. Planters who have not their due proportion of servants are not to be fined if servants cost more than 1800 lbs.

government, remained a lucrative if disreputable trade<sup>1</sup>. The operations of these "spirits" however made prospective emigrants look with suspicion on everyone who attempted to engage their services. In 1682 Christopher Jeaffreson, then in London, could hardly secure a single servant for his plantation in St Christopher.

I thinke to send you at least one servant; but, being newly come to towne, I have not heard of any servants, and you must know the kidnabbers and their employers have been brought into such troubles, that servants are now more hard to come by than ever<sup>2</sup>.

Writing earlier from St Christopher to his cousin, Jeaffreson describes the classes from which servants were drawn.

Scotchmen and Welchmen we esteem the best servants; and the Irish the worst, many of them being good for nothing but mischief. I believe, if you will endeavour it, you may find Scotch and English, that would willingly change their clymate upon the afore-mentioned terms, and much more when they are directed to a certain place and person, of whose character they may be well informed. How many broken traders, miserable debtors, penniless spendthrifts, discontented persons, travelling heads and scatter-brains would joyfully embrace such offers:—the first, to shun their greedy creditors and loathesome goales;...the third, to fill their bellies, though with the bread of affliction; the fourth to leave an unkinde mistress or dishonest wife, or something worse; the fifth to satisfie fond curiosity; sixth, he knows not why, unless to cross his friends and seek his fortune. These and the like humours first peopled the Indies, and made them a kinde of Bedlam for a short tyme. But from such

<sup>1</sup> Cheetham Library, Manchester. Collection of Broad-sides, No. 319. "The Cruel Mother-in-Law."

Her Stepmother seeing the Child beloved  
By many ladies bright, and gallant Lord,  
She was resolved this Child to make away,  
So lays a trap her life for to betray.  
She with a Captain bargained out of hand,  
A slave to sell her to a foreign land:  
This cruel Captain for the sake of gain,  
He takes the beauteous Babe to cross the Main.

Cf. No. 677 (King's declaration against "Spirits").

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 298 (C. J.—Thorn, 25. 9. 82). Dalby Thomas, *Historical Account...growth of West India Colonies*, Cap. III (Harl. Misc.) describes the bad effect on honest merchants of the heavy sentences on alleged spirits: they are afraid to trade in servants for fear of blackmail. H.M.C., VII (i), 175 a has a draft agreement for service in the Barbados, 1664.

brain-sick humours have come many solid and sober men, as these modern tymes testify<sup>1</sup>.

Failing voluntary immigrants the planters were ready to turn to the gaols to obtain a supply of cheap labour.

If Newgate and Bridewell should spew out their spawn into these islandes, it would meet with no less incouragement, for no gaole-bird can be so incorrigible, but there is hope of his conformity here, as well as of his preferment, which some have happily experimented; insoemuch that all sorts of men are welcome to the publick as well as to the private interests of the island<sup>2</sup>.

In attempting to solve the problem of re-populating St Christopher with Englishmen, the Lords of Trade adopted in 1676 the suggestion that malefactors and debtors should be sent to that island from the prisons as servants: the customary fees reduced to the minimum of £1. 11s. od. per head were to be met by the King, and 300 prisoners thus transported<sup>3</sup>. The following year this decision was notified to Stapleton, and it was ordered "that care be taken for sending the 300 malefactors to St Christopher<sup>4</sup>." Nothing however was done in the matter, and in July 1680, the Council of St Christopher, in writing their first letter to the Lords of Trade, asked that "for as much as 300 malefactors sentenced to transportation are not likely to be received," the money which the King was ready to pay in gaol fees might be used as a bonus to encourage merchants who actually imported servants to the island<sup>5</sup>. Captain Hill, who had married a relative of the deputy-governor of Nevis, and had managed through the influence of the Duke of York to obtain the deputy-governorship of St Christopher, now took the matter up. He asked for permission to export 300

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., 1, 259-60 (C. J.—Poyntz, 6. 5. 81). Jeaffreson's father was himself one of the original settlers of St Christopher. The same opinion of the comparative value of Irish and Scotch as settlers is reflected by Willoughby. "We have more than a good many Irish amongst us, therefore I am for the down right Scott, who I am certain will fight without a crucifix about his neck" (Lord William Willoughby from Barbados, 16. 9. 67). Stowe MSS. 755, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 258 (same letter); see 255.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, IV, 784, 808, 809, 815. The suggestion about debtors was made by Wheler.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, V, 440 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 10. 9. 77), 461 (Mins. L.T.P., 28. 10. 77).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, V, 1441 (Council S. C.—L.T.P., 12. 7. 80); cf. *ib.* 679 and 741.

malefactors to St Christopher, and 100 to Nevis. This was allowed, providing he was ready to give security of £10,000 that he would actually transport them<sup>1</sup>. This heavy security proved a drawback, and when Stapleton had at last arranged for "John Stone, a merchant in Princes St. near Loathbury" to give the necessary security, the Lords of Trade made a new stipulation demanding a security of £100 per head that the malefactors so transported should not return to England<sup>2</sup>. These excessive demands again hung the matter up. In September 1682 Christopher Jeaffreson returned to London from St Christopher, where he had just spent a few years in developing his plantation, and he at once determined to take a hand in this new speculation.

As to the malefactors, I see small hopes of them (though Captain Hill persuades himself he might have had them, if he had stay'd) for the security is very large—£100; and the prison fees will be slowly paid; the prison-keepers must be well feed; and at best they are enemies to the order, by as much as ready money is acceptable before trust. Besides they are to be had only by tens and twenties at most at a tyme; and that so seldome, that the island will not be so advantaged by it as was expected. I would fain draw some merchants to be concerned in it, but they will not allow it to be worth their while; and I must confess there are many ways to employ money to better advantage. But this is for a public rather than for a private good. I have been several tymes to Mr Blathwait, and have discoursed the businesse with him...he hints to me what indeed is too true—that it is an ill-tyme to move or presse for anything that must be a charge to his Majestie, moneys being extreme scarce<sup>3</sup>.

Getting into touch with Hill, Jeaffreson discussed the question of undertaking a joint venture. A well-timed petition to the Lords of Trade effected the reduction of the security to £20 per head, which Jeaffreson thought exorbitant enough, but Hill was ready to accept 150 on those terms<sup>4</sup>. Although armed with the necessary order Jeaffreson found all manner of difficulties. The turn-keys expected tips, Captain Richardson the gaoler of

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 619 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18. 7. 81), 705 and 716 (*Mins. L.T.P.*, 25 and 30. 9. 81); cf. 429.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 147 (*Mins. L.T.P.*, 21. 6. 81). For Hill, see Jeaff. *MSS.*, i, 299, 231, 324.

<sup>3</sup> Jeaff. *MSS.*, i, 319–320 (C. J.—Phipps, 15. 11. 82).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 800 (petition, 18. 11. 82), 802 (*Mins. L.T.P.*, same date); cf. Jeaff. *MSS.*, ii, 5, 8 (J. C.—Thorn, 25. 11. 82).

Newgate looked for a heavy bribe, while even Blathwayt had to be bribed to secure favourable consideration of Jeaffreson's complaints. In despair Jeaffreson visited the different prisons to see what he could do by a judicious use of money, but he only found a few quite worthless prisoners. His hopes from a general pardon were frustrated by Richardson who calmly sold the malefactors to a rival set of merchants from Jamaica, and when called to account by the Lords of Trade impudently pretended ignorance of their order<sup>1</sup>. His next move was to attempt to foist women and children, as well as men, on the unwilling Jeaffreson, so that the discovery of the Rye House Plot appeared a very godsend as promising a large number of prisoners.

I have at this tyme an inclynation to accept them on those termes, because it is probable that the Whig Plott, the discovery of which, I presume, is by this tyme no news to your Excellency, will make the number of men that fall under that sentence, exceed far that of the weoman; for which I expect the next sessions<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile Jeaffreson did not forget the financial side of the question; if the servants were only to sell at the usual price of 1800 lbs. the expenses of bribery and shipment would leave no profit for him and his partners. To enhance the value of his wares, as he explains in a letter to his agent Thorn, Jeaffreson suggested to the Lords of Trade that the malefactors should be bound to serve for eight years instead of the customary four<sup>3</sup>.

That you must know was one part of the Prayer of my Petition, that thereby the islanders may thinke it reasonable to advance the prices, for the incouragement of those that should be at the charge and trouble of sending malefactors over, which are greater than ever I could imagine.... But provided...an addition be made that those who are shipt as malefactors shall serve eight yeares, and be sould at 22 or 2400 per head, payment being to be made by the same ship, I thinke Captain Hill and I shall undertake it<sup>4</sup>.

This extension of time was recommended by the Lords of Trade, and duly passed by the Assembly of St Christopher on the suggestion of the Council. A concurrent proposal that

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, *passim*.      <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* II, 73 (C. J.—Stapleton, 13. 9. 83).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, VI, 800 (Petition, 18. 11. 82).

<sup>4</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II (C. J.—Thorn, 25. 11. 82).

Jeaffreson be reimbursed for his expenses in connection with the matter "which he hath always negotiated at his own charge, which could not be small, he being a stranger at Court," was met by the Assembly with a promise to give Jeaffreson a present, when the public debts had been discharged<sup>1</sup>. A more deliberate attempt to prepare the market was made in December. The Governor, who was Jeaffreson's secret partner in the venture, proposed to amend the Act to Encourage the Importation of Servants, so as to oblige every owner of ten acres to keep one servant, and owners of larger plantations to keep one per twenty-five acres. The Assembly replied very smartly by agreeing, provided that the price of such servants did not exceed 1800 lbs., and the proposal lapsed<sup>2</sup>.

In June, 1684, by means of constant agitation, Jeaffreson succeeded in getting an order that a special clause directing transportation to St Christopher should be inserted in the next general pardon, and that all malefactors so pardoned should be delivered to him until the 300 promised had been duly shipped to the island<sup>3</sup>. His opponent the gaoler forced him to accept any prisoners offered, without making choice of those best fitted for labour, while the Recorder, greedy of fees, clamoured for full payment. Beaten at every point, Jeaffreson secured his first batch of 28 malefactors in September, 1684, just eight years after their despatch had been ordered by the Lords of Trade, by agreeing to accept whatever was given him and to pay all the fees despite the royal order<sup>4</sup>. Writing to Governor Hill, Jeaffreson apologises for the quality of his cargo.

We have been forced to take two or three infirme men, but they have trades. The bursen man is a shoe-maker; the lame man is a glover; but at the worst, it may be expected that the other lusty fellows, especially such as have good trades, will make amends for

<sup>1</sup> *G.S.P.*, VI, 1259 (Mins. Council S. C., 20. 9. 83). Jeaffreson was soon after appointed agent for the island and presented with £50. Jeaff. MSS., II, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1438 (Mins. Council S. C.). The Act referred to had been passed in 1679 and forced one servant to be kept for every ten slaves, provided the price did not exceed 1800 lbs. C.O. 154/2, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1668, 1729 (Petition of 7 May, 4 June, 84), 1739 (Report L.T.P., II. 6. 84); cf. Jeaff. MSS. II, 112, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1826 (warrant), Jeaff. MSS., II, 116-7, 118-9, 123, 125 (C. J.—Hill, 1684).

the refuse. For we are under no obligation to dispose of the tradesmen at two thousand pounds of sugar per head, which, considering they are to serve eight years, is we hope the least they will fetch—without their armes, which may be valued at 400 pound a man; which is very cheape for sword, belt, cartouche-box, and gun (all good serviceable armes). But your Honour is concerned for an equal share with us; and we must refer ourselves wholly to your Honour, on whose good directions and managements we wholly rely...<sup>1</sup>.

This cargo of 23 men and five women was a distinct disappointment to the speculators. The planters were very slow in buying the servants, a number were left on hand, and the sick were quartered in Jeaffreson's own plantation. The dispute over the matter led to some coolness between the partners<sup>2</sup>. Despite many negotiations, no further malefactors were obtained until April, 1685, and this party cost even more. Jeaffreson himself with a few friends acted as escort from Newgate to the riverside, and saw his difficult cargo safely embarked<sup>3</sup>. This party of 38, all men, was the last consignment shipped by Jeaffreson. Troubled as he had been by the length and expense of the negotiations, dissatisfied with the behaviour of his partners and fearful lest the escape of a prisoner should forfeit his security, he was glad when he was able to redeem his bonds and feel quit of the matter<sup>4</sup>.

Thus in nine years, out of the 300 promised malefactors, only 61 had been shipped to the Leeward Islands. Later in the year however the failure of Monmouth's rebellion filled the prisons with West country men who were transported in large numbers to Jamaica, and Barbados. Of these political prisoners the Leeward Islands received 100, but the matter was negotiated direct with Stapleton, who was now home in England on sick leave: Jeaffreson had no hand in the matter<sup>5</sup>.

The conditions under which both slaves and servants worked, and the treatment which they received depended very largely on the masters for whom they laboured. Though the servants were

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 123-7 (C. J.—Hill, 8. 9. 84).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 181-2, 215-6, 242, 280-81, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 194-5 (C. J.—Hill, 22. 4. 85); cf. 152-3, 158-9, 186-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 235-6, 279, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, VII, 404 (King—Govs. of Plantations, 11. 10. 85), 421, 422 (Stapleton's receipt, 20. 10. 85); cf. 615, and Jeaff. MSS., II, 223-4.



white men, due after a few years to receive their liberty, and perhaps in time to become slave-owners themselves, the very conditions of their labour threw them into close contact with the negroes. It was found necessary to pass an Act at Nevis forbidding servants and slaves to "company" or drink together<sup>1</sup>. The negroes were naturally the more feared, and in a callous age their ordinary treatment was severe and harsh, and at Nevis an Act forbade the ruthless killing of slaves<sup>2</sup>. A reckless planter, or cruel overseer might easily work his slaves to death, but this was bad economy<sup>3</sup>. Through the cruelty and carelessness of Edward Thorn, his agent, Jeaffreson lost 14 negroes out of 46 on his plantation.

You know (he writes), it is old, sturdy, and hard slaves that are to be driven to worke, and not new-comers; but I was always sensible of John Steele's churlish and brutal humour, in that he was usually a companion of the old and a tyrant over the new negroes; as if the extraordinary work gayned by over-straying them would countervail the loss sustayned by their deaths<sup>4</sup>.

These negroes had been worked by night and on insufficient food, and had consequently died. In Nevis compensation was paid to a master for any negro executed by the law at the rate of 3500 lbs. per head, but this Act was repealed in 1680, as it had "been many ways found grievous and burthensome to the inhabitants of this Island<sup>5</sup>." In Antigua similar legislation was passed, and then repealed; and in that island compensation was also paid for any negro killed in the King's service<sup>6</sup>. Sunday was the general holiday for the slave, and despite repressive

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 570 (26. 5. 75).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 570. The planters at Barbados did not allow their negroes to become Christians for fear lest they should by baptism become freed from slavery. Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii, 157. The same idea was prevalent in the Leeward Islands, *C.S.P.*, iv, 902 (viii) (Indian Warner never baptised).

<sup>3</sup> Jeaffreson's humane and sensible treatment of his slaves is seen in Jeaff. MSS., II, 27, where he sends out medicines for them lest the avaricious doctor should stint them of what they needed.

<sup>4</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 62-3 (C. J.—Thorn, 17. 7. 83); cf. 61-2, 67, 77. Thorn threw the blame on Steele, an ex-servant, now overseer.

<sup>5</sup> Acts of Nevis, p. 9 (Act of 1681). The Act by which compensation was authorised was passed 14. 1. 78, but is not preserved.

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 134 (21. 10. 69). The amount was to be assessed by two Assembly men. Repealed 24. 5. 82; Acts L. I., p. 42, *ib.* p. 44 (14. 8. 72) Negroes killed in the King's service were to be paid for by assessment.

legislation, on that day he wandered off to see friends on neighbouring plantations, desecrating the Sabbath by music and dancing<sup>1</sup>. The escape of negroes was far from uncommon, since the newly imported slave was slow to settle down: no ship-master might take anyone from an island without a ticket from the governor, but, despite this rule, slaves escaped by stealing small boats and shallops<sup>2</sup>. In Antigua especially the size of the island and the great spaces as yet unsettled gave good shelter to the runaways, and special legislation was passed there offering rewards for those who would bring in such negroes, and threatening disastrous penalties on those who still stayed in the woods<sup>3</sup>. Any who managed to escape from the islands fled to the Caribs, and Stapleton estimated the number of negro fugitives on the Indian islands at 600<sup>4</sup>.

The servants during their indentures were at the absolute disposal of their masters, and had to work in field or house as they were ordered. If they were not supplied with clothes or food they could appeal to a J.P.: but as the magistrate was himself a planter, a complaint would need to be well founded to obtain redress. Servants bought from merchants served under the indentures sanctioned by the laws of the island, but those who were imported direct by individual planters, usually made their private bargains before sailing<sup>5</sup>. Various laws protected the master from loss by desertion. The normal punishment was for the servant to work an extra week for every day's illegal absence, a month for a week, and a year for a month<sup>6</sup>. Such stringent legislation may well have made a servant, however

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 570 and C.O., 154/2, p. 161 (Nevis). *C.S.P.*, II, 1825; III, 372, and Acts of Montserrat, p. 34. Acts of L. I., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> In Antigua the owners of small boats had to keep masts and paddles under lock and key, Acts L. I., p. 42-3 (28. 10. 69).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1628 (9. 7. 80). There was a small negro revolt in 1687 in Antigua which alarmed the planters greatly. *C.S.P.*, VII, 1175, 1189, 1193, 1199, 1203 (Mins. of Council, Antigua).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 499 (answers to enquiries, 22. 11. 76). These he said had fled from Barbados and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 93 (a man for 2 years a woman for 5), 278 (a man for 4 years, 9 months, a woman for 5 years).

<sup>6</sup> Acts Montserrat, p. 20-21 (8. 10. 70). This Act also doubles a servant's period of servitude if he plots with a negro to escape. *C.S.P.*, III, 832 (Act S. C., 1. 10. 72). Felony to transport a slave or servant from the island without permission.

ill-treated, hesitate before attempting to desert. Besides the ordinary labourers, skilled tradesmen were much in demand. Jeaffreson was willing to pay such men 1000 lbs. of sugar a year during their period of service, and free mechanics were greatly in demand after their indentures had expired<sup>1</sup>. The first party of malefactors despatched by Jeaffreson consisted almost entirely of artisans, and as he had counted on obtaining a high price for them their failure to find a ready market proved a big disappointment<sup>2</sup>. Jeaffreson himself was on very friendly terms with some of his servants, corresponding freely with them and even encouraging them to maintain a watchful eye on his very unsatisfactory agent<sup>3</sup>. This agent however treated them very harshly and after writing home to his master threatening suicide, John Holcroft, one of the best servants, died suddenly, not without suspicion of ill-treatment<sup>4</sup>. Jeaffreson's kindness to his servants, and his absolute power over them as a master, is seen in his dealings with his new agent, Sedgewick. In 1686 when sending over a woman servant he wrote,

The woman for five years is, as I am told, a good needle-woman, can make or mend negroes' or servants' clothes. As you have two of them, you may keep the best in the house, and turn the other out to grass; for none of my people must be idle<sup>5</sup>.

Sedgewick suggested that as he already had a needle-woman this new servant should be sold, but Jeaffreson forbade this.

I have passed my word to the maid servant I sent last, that she should not be sold; nor would I have you dispose of any white servants of mine; for it was never my intention to send any excepting gaol-birds on that accompt. If you have the convenience of hiring her out for a year or two with her consent till the other is free, she will be the more fit to look after the family, when the other is gone. If nobody will hire her, the worst of the two must do the servile work. She must not be sold, because of my promise, which I value much<sup>6</sup>.

Needless to say all masters were not as honest or considerate as Christopher Jeaffreson.

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., 1, 208, Acts of Nevis, pp. 8-9 (8. 2. 81).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 11, 125. He regarded 2000 lbs. as a bare minimum.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 68-9, 87 (to John Steele), 70-1, 89 (to John Holcroft).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 132 (C. J.—Thorn, 13. 10. 84); cf. 70-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 278 (C. J.—Sedgewick, 2. 3. 86). <sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 299-300 (*ib.* 3. 8. 86).

The slaves were imported for perpetual service; a few were freed, but these were a very small proportion, the vast majority lived and died in hopeless servitude<sup>1</sup>. The servants on the other hand looked forward to the day when they would obtain their liberty, and with the help of their small gratuity and the knowledge they had gained during the past years, set up for themselves. These freed servants had in many cases good opportunities to improve their position if they were energetic and capable. Artisans and skilled workmen, such as carpenters, were always in demand and could make a good living for themselves. The others sometimes became overseers or agents for plantations, or hired small portions of land from bigger planters, growing their own canes on the outskirts of the main plantation and bringing them to be crushed at their landlord's mill<sup>2</sup>. Thus with reasonable fortune and plenty of courage, they might in time become planters themselves.

It is seldome scene (writes Jeaffreson) that the ingenious or industrious men fail of raising their fortunes in any part of the Indies, especially here, or where the land is not thoroughly settled. There are now several examples of it to my knowledge—men raised from little or nothing to vast estates. And I can assure you our slaves live as well now as the servants did formerly. The white servants are so respected that, if they will not be too refractory, they may live much better than thousands of the poor people in England, during their very servitude, or at least as well<sup>3</sup>.

Thus the labour problem drew two streams of men to the Leeward Islands. A small stream of whites, who in time might become small planters for themselves, and a much larger stream of negroes, condemned to perpetual slavery. Thus were introduced those factors which led to so many economic problems of the future. While the blacks increased rapidly, the white population at first stood still and then began to shrink. The smaller plantations were less profitable than the larger, and as the ground became exhausted were soon abandoned or absorbed

<sup>1</sup> For free negroes see *C.S.P.*, v, 599 (St Christopher).

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., 11, *passim*. His agent is instructed not to lease land for more than 7 years; cf. also 1, 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1, 256–7 (C. J.—Poyntz, 6. 5. 81). This favourable picture is drawn by Jeaffreson when writing to his cousin in England for a supply of servants, but there is no reason to think it an untrue picture of life under a good master.

by their larger neighbours. Thus in the eighteenth century we find a system of large plantations, often owned by absentees, worked by vast gangs of slaves and supervised by a small number of whites<sup>1</sup>.

## NOTE A

### THE EARLY RECORDS OF POPULATION IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

The material for calculating the population of the Leeward Islands is very unreliable until Stapleton's Census of 1678. Vague statements were made as to the number of fugitives from St Christopher, but the first firm ground is found in 1672.

*Stapleton's Answers to Inquiries of the Council for Foreign Plantations* (C.S.P., III, 896, 17. 7. 72) contain statements as to the number of men capable of bearing arms, of those armed, and of negroes. It is not clear whether the figures for the negroes refer to the total negro population, or only to the men, but the former is the more probable.

*Stapleton's Statistics of St Christopher* (C.S.P., III, 1201, 9. 1. 74) contain detailed lists of the French proprietors who hold land in the English quarters, with the names of the English planters who had previously owned the estates. Details are also given of the amount of land retained, and the amount received back by the English.

*Stapleton's Census of the Leeward Islands* (C.S.P., v, 741, 29. 6. 78) was sent in reply to an order from the Lords of Trade for a detailed account of the population (*ib.* 404, dated 10. 9. 77). This census is an extremely accurate record of the inhabitants: the returns were made by the parishes or divisions of the islands, showing the analysis of each family, and its nationality and the number of its slaves. Remarks such as "poor" are sometimes added. The summary of this census is shown in Table III (on p. 148). This document is the first that gives accurately the total number of the population of the islands. There is one curious omission. Stapleton and his family are not included in return. (Reprinted *Caribbeana*, vols. II, 68, 316, 342; III, 27, 70.)

*Census of 1708 (St Christopher and Nevis)*, are returns on a similar system as that of 1678, but they do not show the nationality. (Reprinted *Caribbeana*, vol. III, 137 and 173.)

*Montserrat Census of 1730* (reprinted *Caribbeana*, vol. IV, 302). A minute census of the island by Divisions showing negroes, cattle, cultivated acreage, and arms.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763*. Yale University Press, 1917.

## NOTE B

## THE RECORDS OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY

The books of the Royal African Company are preserved in the Public Record Office, London. Those consulted for the history of the slave trade in the Leeward Islands are as follows:

(1) *Invoice Books—Homewards* (Treas. 70/936–70/942). The books cover the period from August 1673 to December 1686. Vols. 6 and 8 of this series, which cover the early part of 1683, and the whole of 1685, are missing. These books contain the invoices of shipments of sugar, and also a record of the sales of slaves by the Company's agents, showing the exact price (in sugar) guaranteed by each planter for the slaves he bought.

(2) *Journals* (Treas. 70/312–70/316), covering the years 1681–1685, both inclusive. The Journals contain daily records of receipts and expenditure, and entries affecting the accounts of the Company's agents at Nevis. At the end of each year a summary of the outstanding debts for which the agents are responsible to the Company is recorded (see Table IV, col. 5).

(3) *Letter Books, Extracts for the Committee of Accounts* (Treas. 70/15–70/16), covering the years 1679–1683. These books contain extracts from In-letters of any matters dealing with accounts, e.g., sales of negroes, difficulty in recovering debts, etc. From these two books and the Journals it is possible to supply the gaps in the Invoice Books.

(Treas. 70/1) is an odd volume of Extracts from In-letters for the years 1679–1681.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUGAR AND THE LAWS OF TRADE

The next [after the Bermudas] and more to the Windward from thence, are the islands of Barbados and St Christopher's. And whereas the Canary Islands were formerly called the Fortunate Islands, so would we have these islands called the contrary, viz; the Unfortunate Islands in that they produce nothing but stinking tobacco; which, if men would judge wisely, they would discern the mischief that ariseth from it. But it carrieth such a bewitching power over the takers that all the ill which comes of it they interpret as good to their bodies, and have no more power to leave than drunkards when they are nuzzled in it.

"A comparison between our Ancient and Known Trades..."

(*Monson Tracts*, IV, 404).

It is conceived there is a silvermine in St Christophers; but in regard the Salt-pits, Woods, Havens, and Mines are common to both Nations, no body looks after it: Besides such an enterprise would require a great stock, and an infinite number of slaves. The true Silver-mine of that Island is Sugar.

J. DAVIES, *History of the Caribby Islands*, p. 22.

THE strong fight put up by Barbados at the Restoration for the abolition of proprietary government was largely due to the defective titles of many planters to the lands which they claimed as their own. This problem of land ownership was even more acute in the Leeward Islands, where the accidents of war had complicated the original difficulties of conflicting claims. The earliest planters were settlers claiming grants of their land from Carlisle or from his governor, Warner. Few of these planters, however, were able to produce their title-deeds, and throughout the seventeenth century the planter in possession was always liable to be disturbed by vague claims of would-be owners based on alleged grants dating from the early days of the settlement<sup>1</sup>. The lands granted out to planters under authority of the Carlisle patent were subject to certain proprietary dues and rents, but all such dues were swept away by the Acts which granted the 4½ per cent. duty. By these Acts confirmation of titles in common socage under the Great Seal of the Islands

<sup>1</sup> *Caribbeana*, III, 320-21, reprints an early grant of 1637 by Warner which is still preserved in St Christopher. Jeaffreson had only a vague grant of 1000 acres from Carlisle as the title-deeds of his plantation, Jeaff. MSS., I, 199.

was guaranteed<sup>1</sup>. The formal issue of title-deeds was, however, seriously hampered by the loss of the Great Seal when Francis Lord Willoughby was drowned in the hurricane, and the subsequent delay in engraving a new seal for the separate government of the Leeward Islands<sup>2</sup>.

In Antigua the problem presented special features: vast tracts of land had been patented but never taken up and the planters felt this a serious drawback to the proper settlement of their island. Thus in the Antigua Act a special proviso arranged for the voiding of titles to all land that was not planted within a given time<sup>3</sup>. In his settlement after the Peace of Breda Willoughby attempted to remedy this matter. Seizing the technical excuse of the French conquest, he passed an Act voiding all titles, and then at the petition of the planters confirmed the actual residents in their holdings. This Act records that a great deal of land was also surrendered voluntarily by those who held more than they could cultivate and this land, together with that forfeited by the absentees, was now available for future settlers. It was promised to any who should import "labouring hands," at 10 acres per poll up to a maximum of 600 acres<sup>4</sup>. An office was established in which all titles had to be registered, and a little later arrangements were made for the careful survey of estates, and the filing of duplicate maps and plans<sup>5</sup>. Despite this arrangement a great deal of confusion still existed and in 1677 a special Act was passed confirming the titles of all who had enjoyed undisputed possession for the past five years, unless claims against them were made within two years time. Titles to land became void if the land was not settled within six months<sup>6</sup>. Besides this general legislation, there were a host of private Acts allowing individual planters to sell land to which

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 981.

<sup>2</sup> The issue of deeds sealed by Stapleton's seal at arms was later claimed to invalidate the grant. *C.S.P.*, VII, 1706.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 981. Two years for those who were in England: one for those in America.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 1687 (Petition, 31. 1. 68), 1788 (Willoughby's report, 9. 7. 68). *Acts Antigua*, pp. 25-30 (April 68).

<sup>5</sup> *Acts Antigua*, p. 31 (April 68), 64 (1672). The latter Act is the re-enactment of an earlier law.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 57 (9. 1. 77). *C.S.P.*, IV, 548. These Acts were re-enacted by the local Assembly in 1679, with slight modifications. *Acts Antigua*, p. 66.



their titles were considered somewhat shaky, and when reviewing the local legislation in 1681 the Lords of Trade warned Stapleton against the passing of such Acts for the future<sup>1</sup>.

At St Christopher there was little such legislation, but claims and titles to plantations were hopelessly confused. When Jeaffreson went to visit his paternal estate in that island in 1676, he was amazed at the state of affairs.

I admire that I have never had nor seene any deed by which my father held this manor of Wingfield, but only that from the Lord Carlisle, which nominates only a thousand acres....I finde the lease of Serjeant Delve bounding this manor, with the river to the East, and Merrifield's Gutt to the West. Notwithstanding which, one Mr Garbrants holdes a large slip of land, between mee and the gutt, which he had by marrying the daughter of one Mr Partridge, to whom some say my father gave that plantation for his life, who is now dead, but Mr Garbrants pretends to hold it by deed from the Earl of Carlisle<sup>2</sup>.

The planters were intensely litigious, and naturally favoured the actual possessor as against the absentee claimant: each man was his own lawyer, and various legislation was passed to relieve the local juries from wasting their time by listening to interminable arguments<sup>3</sup>. The legislation against absentees at Antigua caused frequent complaints in England and the question of the division of a plantation at Montserrat made Freeman, once Stapleton's friend, his bitter and implacable enemy<sup>4</sup>. In 1680 Stapleton passed an Act at Nevis granting a general confirmation of titles to the present possessors, because

many of the first inhabitants of this Island, after some small settlement made upon their respective Lands and Plantations,...did, many Years since, to the great Detriment and Hazard of this his Majesty's Island, leave and desert their Estates, transporting themselves, with all their Chattels moveable, to Jamaica...<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., VI, 309 (Mins. L.T.P., 3. 12. 81), 429 (King—Stapleton, 5. 3. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 199. The selling of plantations held by Frenchmen after 1668 led to more complications with the original English claimants.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., II, 691 (fees for feeding jury, Nevis, 23. 3. 64), II, 1905; IV, 570; cf. Jeaff. MSS., I, 192. He writes home for *Cooke upon Littleton*, and *The Compleat Solicitor*.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P., VII, 396, 420, 544, 860, 970; VIII, 167, 604, 1380, 1523, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Acts Nevis, p. 3 (1680).

Following his general policy of attempting to standardise the laws in the four islands, Stapleton proposed, at the General Assembly of the Leeward Islands, which met in the autumn of 1682, that this Act should be extended to include all the islands. The Assembly, prompted probably by personal considerations, agreed if Antigua were excepted<sup>1</sup>. This deliberate omission, on the ground that a local act of that island covered the situation, drove the Antiguan planters to great wrath. At the General Assembly next autumn they begged that the operation of the Act might be extended to Antigua, but this petition was unsuccessful<sup>2</sup>. The question of titles remained a sore one among the Leeward planters. In 1688 Archibald Hutcheson, an indigent lawyer whom Governor Johnson had just appointed as Attorney-General for the islands, made the useful discovery that the majority of titles were invalid for various technical reasons, and he suggested that they should be renewed subject to a small annual rent-charge. Johnson recommended that this income should be devoted to the support of the deputy-governors, who would thus be freed from dependence on the local assemblies<sup>3</sup>. In the turmoil of political changes nothing was done, and the question remained in this unsatisfactory state.

The first staple crop of the Leeward Islands was tobacco, and in Antigua and Montserrat tobacco growing continued during the Restoration period, though it was being steadily ousted by sugar. The importance of the tobacco crop in the early days can be estimated by comparing the amount shipped to London from St Christopher and from Barbados. During the years 1637-1640 the former island sent over twice as much tobacco as did Barbados<sup>4</sup>. The growing supply of tobacco meant a low price and in 1639 an agreement was made between de Poincy and Warner to limit the Leeward tobacco crop<sup>5</sup>. Both leaders sought for a more profitable staple, and this they found in sugar.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 790 (Journal General Assembly L. I., 15. 11. 82).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 1331 (Council Antigua—Stapleton, 25. 10. 83); cf. 1240.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 1706 (Hutcheson's report, 19. 4. 88), 1773 (Johnson—L.T.P., 2. 6. 88).

<sup>4</sup> Add. MSS. 35-865, fo. 247, reprinted in *Caribbeana*, III, 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Caribbeana*, III, 315, reprints Egerton 2395, fo. 192 (de Poincy—Warner).

When the great plenty of Tobacco made at St Christopher's and the other Islands had brought down the price of it so low, that it did not turn to account, it pleas'd God to put it into the heart of the French General de Poincy, to find out some other ways to facilitate the subsistence of the inhabitants, and carry on some Trade: He thereupon employ'd his Servants and Slaves about the culture of Sugar-Canes, Ginger and Indico; and the design met with a success beyond what was expected<sup>1</sup>.

The English are said to have introduced sugar culture into St Christopher from Barbados, where Drax was pushing its cultivation and making his fortune. The French of St Christopher began to grow it about the same time<sup>2</sup>. This new crop was successful, but did not supersede tobacco immediately: one of the chief complaints of Nevis against the Navigation Acts of 1660 was that their poorer people, who still cultivated tobacco, could not sell their crops profitably in the home market. In 1677 the island still grew a little tobacco, but after that date it was neglected<sup>3</sup>. In St Christopher too tobacco was still grown after 1660 but gradually disappeared; the French who held estates in the English quarter after the Peace of Breda had planted none<sup>4</sup>. In Montserrat and Antigua it continued as an important secondary crop. In all the early Acts of Montserrat the penalties are expressed in tobacco, while the first use of sugar as a fine is in 1668. In that same year an Act directed the payment of a preaching minister to be "the full and just Quantity of Fourteen Thousand Pounds of Sugar, or the Value thereof in Tobacco, Cotton-Wool or Indigo<sup>5</sup>."

During the year ending July, 1684, Montserrat shipped to England about 48,000 lbs. of tobacco as against 200,000 lbs. of sugar<sup>6</sup>. The importance of tobacco at Antigua is shown by the attempts at establishing a paper currency in tobacco notes; while in many cases fines were payable either in tobacco or sugar.

<sup>1</sup> Davies, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique* (ed. 1722), III, 130. The traditional date is 1643. For the sugar cane in Barbados, see Ligon.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 731; *C.O.* 390/6, p. 87 (Nevis exports for 1677-8).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1201 (Stapleton—*C.T.P.*, 9. 1. 74).

<sup>5</sup> Acts Montserrat, pp. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> *C.O.* 390/6, p. 117 (B. of T. Custom House accounts).

Tobacco cultivation called for watchfulness and care of the plants and for a considerable skill in the drying and rolling of the leaf. The young plants were grown from seed and planted out while the ground was soft from the rains: they then needed constant attention to ensure that they were neither choked by weeds nor eaten by grubs. The skilful planter judged the correct time to cut his tobacco by the drooping appearance and smell of the leaf. After it was cut, the plant lay for a day in the sun, and was then hung in drying houses. The leaves were stripped, the ribs cut out of the larger leaves, and the remainder made up into rolls by skilful workmen, who sometimes used a "dope" to wet their hands while at work. This process was supposed to improve the flavour of the tobacco. The work involved in successful tobacco cultivation was hardly understood in Europe, and an early writer protests against the general view.

Those who imagine that tobacco grows without any trouble, and that rolls of it are, as they say, found growing on trees in America, and that there is no more to be done but to shake them down; or haply they are persuaded that it requires no great trouble to bring them to perfection, will be undeceived...if they had themselves seen the poor servants and slaves, who are employ'd about this painful work, expos'd the greatest part of the day to the scorching heat of the Sun, and spending one half of the night in reducing it to that posture wherein it is transported into Europe, no doubt they would have a greater esteem for, and think much more precious that herb, which is procur'd with the sweat and labour of so many miserable creatures<sup>1</sup>.

The making up of tobacco into rolls opened the way for great abuses by the inclusion of inferior leaf, and though at Montserrat it had been customary to pay the merchant in roll or ball tobacco, that island ordered in 1667 that all contracts were to be paid in leaf. Roll tobacco was never to be made, under serious penalties, unless a merchant had already guaranteed to accept it in this form. Viewers were appointed with authority to examine all tobacco made in the island and to burn all of an inferior quality<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Davies, p. 192. For difference in making of French and English tobacco. *P.C. Cal.*, I, 577; Labat, IV, 476-539 also has an account of tobacco making with an illustration.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 1825 (payment in roll), Acts Montserrat, p. 16 (24. 2. 70).

All through the seventeenth century there was strong opposition to the cultivation of tobacco on moral grounds. As late as 1690 Dalby Thomas, a famous West India merchant, felt bound to apologise for discussing the cultivation of tobacco,

which though in itself, perhaps, not absolutely, if at all necessary to well-living, yet, having prevailed so far upon the vitiated Humours of Men, as we see it has, is of great concern to us, as well for bringing in Wealth as employing Multitudes of Men in Manufacture and Navigation, which no men can dispute to be a true National Interest<sup>1</sup>.

As often happens moral ideas were beaten by economic facts, and tobacco continued to be cultivated in the West Indies just so long as it was profitable: when prices fell sugar took its place.

Sugar was grown in all the islands, but chiefly at St Christopher and Nevis. After the Peace of Breda the French settlers in the English quarter who had "improved" their plantations had 486 acres planted with canes, and 247 with indigo: they had likewise 126 mills as against 42 indigo works<sup>2</sup>. When Jeaffreson came to St Christopher in 1676 to inspect the plantation settled by his father he found that it had been producing indigo, but he at once decided to settle down and turn it into a sugar plantation. Sending for the necessary coppers and other utensils from England, he set to and developed a successful sugar works, though when he later returned to England he was nearly ruined by the carelessness and dishonesty of Edward Thorn, the man he left in charge<sup>3</sup>. Writing soon after his arrival at St Christopher he says,

I am apt to believe his indigo of late has yielded him but small profit, because it doth now seldom thrive, and I see everybody that is able working upon sugar, which is a certain gain<sup>4</sup>.

After some years practical experience of the hazards attending sugar planting, and faced by the steady decline of the market, he began to doubt the wisdom of his decision.

Let us consider the extreame low rates sugar now beares, with the small likelyhood of its rising (he wrote to Thorn) and whether indigo, whose price dayly rises is not like to be a better commodity.

<sup>1</sup> Dalby Thomas, *Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies*, 1690 (Harl. Misc., ed. 1744, II, 365).

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., III, 1201.

<sup>3</sup> Jeaff. MSS. *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* I, 188; cf. 211.

It is produced with lesse charge, made with less trouble, and with less danger of the hurricane. Bearing two or three crops per annum, and sometimes four or five cuttings, it is my opinion it would turn to a very good account, better than sugar. Were I upon the plantation, knowing what I now know, next to the perfecting the settlements already made, I would plant indigo, the profits of which the planters understand but halfe; having it in low esteeme, only because they made but small quantities, which was all that could be expected from so few hands, as everyone then had<sup>1</sup>.

With the increase of labour from the regular importation of slaves by the Royal African Company, all the bigger planters concentrated on growing sugar, and indigo was looked upon as the small man's crop. The field cultivation of the cane could readily be carried out by gangs of slaves supervised by an overseer. The young canes were planted in holes, or sometimes in trenches, made by the negroes with a hoe, and after the shoots appeared they needed weeding until they were a good size. As the cane had to be crushed immediately it was cut, and the juice boiled at once, lest fermentation should set in, planting, cutting and sugar making went on for a large part of the year, for the mills of those days could only crush a very limited amount of cane in the day. The simple crushing mill consisted of two rollers turned generally by horses, but sometimes by a windmill, or, if power were available, by a water wheel. The actual sugar making needed most careful supervision if good sugar were to be produced. The old method of manufacturing Muscovado sugar has survived in the backward islands, without any material change, to this day. The juice was led off to a set of coppers, generally three, where it was clarified by boiling and the impurities removed by means of ashes or lime which were thrown into the syrup. As the scum rose to the top it was taken off by skimmers, and the syrup ladled from copper to copper until it reached the right purity and consistency. It was then run into pots, the shape of an inverted cone, and after a couple of days a plug in the apex of the cone was removed. The pots were then left on a rack for about a month while the molasses drained out slowly into "drips." The sugar, of a brown colour, was then packed into hogsheads and known as Muscovado. Great

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 323; II, 7.

skill was needed in this process to gauge correctly when the syrup was ready to be poured into the moulds, and poor sugar was frequently the result of carelessness. In Barbados it was a common thing to dry these moulds in the sun, or to cleanse the sugar still further by packing the top of the mould with clay, and allowing water to soak gradually through the Muscovado. This "clayed" sugar, and the reboiling of the Muscovado to make a low grade of refined sugar known as "whites" was profitable to the planter, for his freight cost him less, but it led to constant quarrels with the sugar refiners at home. In the Leeward Islands, however, in these early days, the planters seem to have been content to make and export their Muscovado: the great contest between Barbados planters and refiners over the proposed duties of 1671 left them cold<sup>1</sup>.

Sugar growing was rather an uncertain means of making money owing to the many risks that attended the cultivation of the cane: as the prices dropped it became something of a gamble. The violence of a single hurricane might ruin a year's work, lay the canes flat with the ground and dismantle the very house and sugar mills<sup>2</sup>. The canes were often set alight by idle wandering and illdisposed persons who make it a common use and practice to wander, and with lighted torches to go a crabbing in and about the plantations of several persons where sugar canes are growing...<sup>3</sup>.

The effect of the French war was long felt, and the loss of coppers and such things could only be replaced from England. "The wars here are more destructive than in any other partes of the world; for twenty yeare's peace will hardly resetttle the devastation of one yeare's war." Even an alarm was apt to mean a loss of money, for it might withdraw the negroes from their work at a critical moment, and Jeaffreson calculated he lost £200 by one such "incident<sup>4</sup>." The majority of planters

<sup>1</sup> Accounts of sugar manufacture, Davies, 59-60, 194-6; Labat, III, Cap. v (with illustrations); Ligon; Egerton 2395, fo. 640, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For a graphic account of the hurricane of 1681, Jeaff. MSS., I, 274-80.

<sup>3</sup> Acts L. I., p. 45 (Act against carrying lights near canes, 14. 8. 72).

<sup>4</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 215, 243; cf. C.S.P., v, 623, 665. Stapleton feared a French conquest would mean "a devastation of all sugar works, as well as the loss of all negroes which 20 years' peace will not repair" (Stapleton—L.T.P., 18. 4. 78).

lived carelessly, running up large debts with merchants for the necessary sugar utensils and for provisions, purchasing slaves from the Royal Company on the credit of the future crops, and rivalling each other in the lavishness of their entertainment and the fashionable cut of their clothes<sup>1</sup>. To protect themselves they hampered the legal procedure for the recovery of debts by various local enactments, and were constantly at cross purposes with their creditors the English merchants.

The plantations varied in size, but during the Restoration period there is no evidence that the formation of large estates, and the "squeezing out" of the small planter, which was such a marked feature of eighteenth century economic development, had yet begun. On the contrary there were a good number of small men, either owners or tenants. Except Nevis, the islands were not as yet completely settled, for after the Peace of Breda there was still room for new settlers on the King's lands at St Christopher, while Antigua was but partially planted. The breaking up in Antigua of the large original grants by Wilmoughby in 1668 had released much land for new settlers; and the later laws of that island prevented the holding of any land that was not adequately developed. It was even forbidden to obtain patents of land for the mere purpose of cutting and selling timber<sup>2</sup>. Barbados, however, was completely settled, and the concentration of land into a few hands had already begun: the white population there was steadily shrinking through emigration and most of the servants left that island, when they had served their time, to go to Jamaica or elsewhere<sup>3</sup>. In the Leeward Islands it was different: the majority of the servants remained on the islands, either working for hire or becoming planters on a small scale for themselves. The soil was still very productive, and the land was cropped at the planter's whim, without deliberate rotation, or the need of definite manuring. It was customary for each plantation to grow a certain amount of negro provisions, usually planted in November and December, but the short-sighted policy of many planters led

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 243, etc.; cf. Ligon's account of Drax's feast.

<sup>2</sup> Acts L. I., p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., II, 1657 (Some observations on Barbados), etc.



them to concentrate on their staple crop, and rely on the import of provisions to supply their need, thus the planting of provisions had to be enforced by law<sup>1</sup>.

The larger plantations, worked by slaves and a few white servants, were often managed by the resident planter, who supervised the various operations of growth and manufacture in person. There were, however, a certain number of absentee owners, such as Jeaffreson, who managed their estates by agents, or let them to lessees, but their number was not great. The trouble at Antigua was with absentee proprietors who did not develop their grants of land, and not as yet with non-residents. The small holders were either the actual owners, or tenants who frequently crushed their cane at their landlord's mill<sup>2</sup>. Even the very soldiers in garrison at St Christopher were able to turn planters on a small scale, and Johnson found them fully established on their little plantations<sup>3</sup>. As time went on, however, the increase in the cost of production, and the competition of slave labour was to drive the small man from the soil. The larger slave-run plantations worked their negroes at high pressure and the only slack time was on Sunday.

The Planters cannot hear of any other holy days (reported Stapleton in 1676) that their negroes may not be idle who are never christened, unless a master or mistress in kindness to a black, mulatto, or Indian designs to give them their freedom...but this is very rare<sup>4</sup>.

As the economic life of the Leeward Islands grew more and more dependent on sugar, the fluctuations of price became a matter of great importance to the planters. During the reign of Charles II there was a continuous fall in price and both merchants and planters struggled to avert this movement.

When in 1660 the Book of Rates was published, raw or Muscovado sugar was rated at 30s. per 100 lbs., and a 5 per cent. import duty of 1s. 6d. was imported. As the market value of sugar was about 40s. this duty was actually lower than 5 per cent., but as the price fell steadily, so the weight of the duty was

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 286, Acts Montserrat, pp. 17-19 (24. 2. 70); C.O. 154/2, p. 162 (Nevis, 8. 4. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 276; II, 132-3.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., VII, 1387 (Johnson—L.T.P., 10. 8. 87).

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P., IV, 1152 (Stapleton's answers, 22. 11. 76); cf. Jeaff. MSS., II, 67.

increasingly felt. The decline in price was due partly to the glut in the English market and the cost of transshipping raw sugar to the Continent, rendered necessary by the enumeration clause, and partly to the great increase in the sugar production of the French colonies, stimulated by Colbert<sup>1</sup>. Some years later the normal price fell to 30s. of which the planter or merchant reckoned to clear 16-17s. profit<sup>2</sup>. During the conflict of 1671, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to increase the import duty on sugar and tobacco, it was stated in various pamphlets that the price of sugar had sunk to 25s. or 22s. the 100 lbs. of which scarce 11s. was profit. These figures, however, are open to suspicion as they were published for the purpose of propaganda<sup>3</sup>. In 1674 the Royal African Company in their prospectus could offer to accept sugar in the islands at the rate of £17 sterling for 2400 lbs.; that is to say they reckoned on a profit of 14s. 2d. per 100 lbs.

Prices, however, continued to fall, and ten years later Jeaffreson complained of the bad state of the sugar market. A large cargo of sugar gave him only "12s. 6d. p. cent cleare<sup>4</sup>," while in 1685 he feared that he would scarce clear 8s., reckoning to sell at about 18s. the hundred<sup>5</sup>. Next year the Royal African Company calculated that they made no more than 6s. 5d. profit per hundred, although the sugar was rated at 12s. 6d. in the plantations. This marks the lowest point<sup>6</sup>. In 1685 additional duties were placed upon all imported sugars, and though a rebate of the full amount of the additional duty was allowed on all raw sugar re-exported, this concession did not extend to refined sugar. Thus to a large extent the English refined sugar lost the continental market, while raw sugar was re-exported in large quantities and prices rose in consequence. By 1690 the

<sup>1</sup> For the sugar duties, G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, Pt I, vol. 1, Cap. III; cf. Mims, Cap. XII.

<sup>2</sup> Rawl. MSS., "A" 478, 88, "The late Act of Navigation and its effect on the Sugar Plantations."

<sup>3</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 636 and 640.

<sup>4</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 173, 179, 183. This was partly due to the poor quality of the sugar. The best Muscovado was selling at 22s. per 100 lbs.

<sup>6</sup> Treas. 70/169, 84-6, printed in Pitman, p. 129. The Company were ready to lower the price of slaves to £15 sterling, provided payment was made in England.

normal selling price in London was 20s., and the price continued to rise<sup>1</sup>.

The normal currency in the Leeward Islands during the greater part of the seventeenth century was the staple product, first tobacco and then sugar. But little money found its way to the islands; what did was of a surprising variety, Spanish pieces of eight, French crowns and Boston shillings, and this influx led to unsuccessful attempts to rate the money and sugar in convertible terms. When Willoughby passed the Acts for the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty in 1664, he wrote and told the King that he had arranged for the duty to be collected in kind as the islanders had no coin<sup>2</sup>. Everything in the islands, fines, salaries, levies, contracts, were reckoned and paid in sugar. At Antigua, where tobacco was grown more than at Nevis or St Christopher, fines are frequently expressed in both commodities, and they were rated at the same value: it was also, however, understood that any planter could pay his local debts in any standard crop at the local rate. Sugar was actually a medium of exchange, and passed from planter to planter or to merchant in settlement of claims<sup>3</sup>. For small payments it was most inconvenient, and credit was extensively employed—a custom which led to sundry scandals in the local tap houses<sup>4</sup>. Long credit was also expected by the planter when dealing with the merchant, and the delay in payment often meant a serious loss to the merchant who had invested his money in the purchase of his goods. Antigua attempted to solve the currency problem by adopting the certificate system which had been launched in Virginia. In 1654 the island had set up a public storehouse, but the system had collapsed during the French war, and so in 1669 it was restarted, For the propagation of Trade Ease of The Marc<sup>ts</sup> and ready payment of the Planters, Who Haveing His Storehouse Notes can Passe them in all places of the Island like ready money, as well to buy what Hee wants, as discharge His just Debts and Ingagements.

<sup>1</sup> Dalby Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 357; Pitman, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 764. The wording of the Acts provides for payment in "specie," *ib.* 891.

<sup>3</sup> The R.A.C. received most of their payments in kind, but bills of exchange were sometimes used when merchants contracted for a cargo of slaves. *Treas.* 70/16, sub date 8. 5. 82 (Agents—R.A.C.).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 645 (Act St Christopher, 8. 3. 78).

It was enacted that all tobacco was to be placed in the public storehouse in return for a pass which was legal tender for payments within the island, or to a merchant<sup>1</sup>. This sensible plan proved a failure, and in 1675 the public storehouses were abolished.

Time, the Declarer of Truth and Discoverer of Errors in Matters of Rule and Government, hath satisfied all that study in the welfare of this Colony, that the Many Abuses of the Storehouse Keepers, their deceitful making up Tobacco, and the many other Inconveniences that thereby have accrued, hath given great cause to many Traders, Merchants, and Strangers to make many complaints of their ill Usage in this Place<sup>2</sup>.

In Barbados attempts had been early made to fix a settled rate at which sugar should be accepted in payment of debts contracted in terms of English money. The basis of all these experiments at rating was a calculation of the clear profit which would accrue in England on the sale of 100 lbs. of Muscovado sugar. An early rating of 10s. per 100 was found too low, and after being raised to 16s. 8d. it was fixed in 1670 at 12s. 6d. This was a reasonable rate at that time, but despite the drop in the market price at home, it remained the official rating at Barbados during the Restoration period. Besides sugar an increasing amount of Spanish coin, some of it badly clipped, was finding its way to Barbados, and after various experiments, the Spanish piece of eight was finally rated at 5s. which was 6d. more than its sterling value<sup>3</sup>. The Leeward Islands developed more slowly. The first Act which dealt with this matter only did so incidentally. The Act of Extent of Antigua, passed in 1669, and an Act of the same date regulating servants' wages, put a purely fictitious value on sugar, to the advantage of the planter: in the former case sugar was rated for the purpose of the Act at 25s. the 100 (3d. per lb.), while in the regulation of servants' wages it was rated at 6d. per lb., a most palpable fraud<sup>4</sup>. A serious attempt to deal with the problem was made

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., III, 134 (Act of 8. 4. 69).

<sup>2</sup> Acts Antigua, p. 53 (16. 9. 75).

<sup>3</sup> R. Chalmers, *A History of Currency in the British Colonies* (London, 1893) pp. 46-50, 60-65, reviews the early currency legislation of these colonies.

<sup>4</sup> C.O. 154/1, pp. 32-6 (Act of Extent, 21. 10. 69), p. 39 (Regulation of Servants' Wages, 28. 10. 69).

by Stapleton in 1670. As deputy-governor of Montserrat he secured the passing of a law rating sugar at 15s. per 100, and he also fixed the rates at which any coin that came to the island should pass current.

And whereas the Authority aforesaid have seriously considered the great Necessity of Money in the aforesaid Island, and to encourage all such Person or Persons that shall for the future bring any Sum or Sums of foreign Coins into the Island aforesaid, and any others at present on the said Island that have any Desire to distribute any foreign Coins which any of them have in and upon their Island, it is enacted.... That for the future all Monies of the King of Spain's shall pass and be received by all Manner of Persons residing on this Island.... At the full allowance hereafter signified and expressed (that is to say) Every Seville, Mexico or Pillar Pieces of Eight at Six Shillings the piece, and every old Peru and new at Five Shillings the Piece, and Half Pieces, and Quarter Pieces proportionably, and all other foreign coins proportionably, and all New England Monies at its full value, as it passes in New England<sup>1</sup>.

The New England money had been first coined by that colony in 1652 because of the difficulty of carrying on trade by barter without a staple crop. Despite the frowns of royal authority the colonists continued to work their mint, and their coins found their way in the course of trade to the Leeward Islands. These coins were only worth 9d. in England, and Stapleton in rating them at their face value, was consequently forced to rate up the piece of eight proportionally. In 1672 Wheler adopted both these Acts for Nevis, while Antigua similarly rated the piece of eight at 6s.<sup>2</sup> The over-rating of coins continued until the end of the century, but despite this there was very little money in the islands, and trade was carried on almost entirely by barter<sup>3</sup>. In the case of sugar, however, the rate was soon lowered to correspond with the Barbados standard. Though no formal Act was passed in Antigua till 1676, and in Nevis till four years

<sup>1</sup> Acts Montserrat, p. 19 (Rating Money, 29. 9. 70), p. 23 (Rating Sugar, 19. 11. 70). The rating up of coin had reacted on the price of sugar, hence the second Act (*vide* section 2 of that Act). The Peru pieces of eight were of "uncertain alloy," hence their rating. Chalmers, p. 64 n.

<sup>2</sup> C.O. 154/1, pp. 100-103 (Nevis Acts, 1672), p. 44 (Antigua Act, 14. 8. 72).

<sup>3</sup> In 1699 Antigua arranged for the rating of silver coins by weight. Chalmers, p. 62.

later, yet 12s. 6d. the hundred was the recognised rating for Muscovado sugar throughout the islands, and though the planters might still pass special Acts placing a fictitious value on sugar to cheat their helpless servants, the regular rate for business purposes was 1½d. the pound<sup>1</sup>. When the Acts had been sent home to England the Lords of Trade examined the Nevis Act with great care and passed it to the Treasury for advice. In September 1684 the Commissioners of the Mint reported that it was a great prejudice to trade to rate the piece of eight above its sterling value, for the price of goods would rise in proportion to the over-rating, "trade being in no wayes to be ballanced by notions and names of money or things, but by the real and intrinsic value of money and commodities truly answering each other<sup>2</sup>." They suggested that if the island wished to try the effect of its law, it must at least allow for the deficiency in weight of the piece of eight. This coin was then to be made the standard, and all other coins were to be current at their intrinsic value, as calculated from the standard. Sugar was to have no fixed price but was to fluctuate with the market variations. This advice was not adopted, however, and things continued under the old arrangement.

After 1660 the trade of the Leeward Islands was confined to definite channels by the Acts of Trade and Navigation, and the increase of efficiency in the administration of the law altered the former routes. Smuggling was never entirely suppressed, and at times it was quite common, but practical machinery was devised and put into action to enforce the new code. The clause of the old Act of 1650 which prohibited any foreign ship from trading with the recalcitrant colonies was still held to be valid even after those colonies had been reduced but it was never adequately enforced, and the sporadic seizure of foreign vessels shows that this trade still continued<sup>3</sup>. The Leeward Islands

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., IV, 1152, sec. I (Stapleton's answers, 22. 11. 76). 12s. 6d. was the rate of exchange used by the R.A.C. throughout this period. C.O. 154/2, p. 299 (Antigua Act emending Act of Extent, 5. 1. 67); Nevis Acts, p. 7 (8. 5. 80).

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., VII, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> For a general description of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I, vol. 1, cap. 11.

were largely dependent upon it, and their chief middlemen were the Dutch. The Act of 1660 with its stringent enumeration clause, which ordered that most tropical produce should be shipped direct to England, was thus regarded by all the plantation colonies as a great evil. Barbados was particularly anxious to obtain relief from its action. Despite the quarrels between Modyford and the Assembly time was found to petition for freedom to carry sugar to any port, in English ships, and it was alleged that the enforcing of the enumeration clause would lead to a glut of the English market<sup>1</sup>. Later it was even suggested that the value at which sugar was rated in the Book of Rates of 1660, 30s. per 100 lbs., should be fixed by law as a minimum price in England, but this proposal came to nothing<sup>2</sup>. The export duties on goods shipped to the plantations from England also caused much ill feeling, and during Walrond's government a strong petition was drafted against them<sup>3</sup>. In Lord Willoughby Barbados found a champion who fearlessly told the King that the Acts of Navigation would ruin the plantations, and that already emigration was taking place from Barbados and the Leeward Islands to foreign plantations which were not so hampered<sup>4</sup>. These strong representations brought a vague promise of relief, but this promise never materialised, though it at once led Modyford, just appointed governor of Jamaica, to beg for free trade for that island also<sup>5</sup>.

The Barbados planters considered themselves hard hit by the new legislation, but they had sufficient influence to make their grievance heard. Yet though the Leeward Islands were in a worse plight, as Willoughby pointed out, it was not until he took up their case that much attention was paid to their complaints. The Act of 1660 did not at once stop all traffic with the Dutch, though trade was very seriously affected<sup>6</sup>. When Willoughby visited the Leeward Islands in 1664 he found them in a pitiable case and did not hesitate to write home strongly about it. He

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 85 (Barbados petition, 11. 5. 61).    <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 130 (*ib.* 12. 7. 61).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 392 (minutes Council Barbados, 18. 12. 62).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 578 (4. 11. 63).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, II, 628 (King—Willoughby, 11. 1. 64), 739 (Modyford—Arlington, 10. 5. 64).

<sup>6</sup> *P.C. Cal.*, I, 575, 577, 579, 582-3 (case of the "Orange Tree").

reported that these islands were small and poor and so hard pinched by the Acts of Trade and Navigation that their ports were quite empty, while those of their neighbours the French were crowded with shipping. He forwarded, too, the petitions of the islands, begging for a free trade with all nations in amity with the King, and instancing the growth of the French islands under a free system while they themselves had declined greatly since the new legislation<sup>1</sup>. In Nevis particularly where much tobacco had been cultivated by the poorer people, the glut of this commodity in the English market meant ruin: the small cultivators could not afford to plant canes and were deserting the island<sup>2</sup>. These dolorous reports might have had some practical result, for the King was ready to "connive at it, though he thinks it not fit to give any privy dispensation in it<sup>3</sup>." This policy of winking at a breach of the law, if it was ever inaugurated, soon came to an end, for the war of 1665-7 gave the Leeward Islands other things to think of than the Acts of Trade.

The Peace of Breda left the Leeward Islands in a very poor state, but as trade began again there began with it the inevitable smuggling to the Dutch. On the armistice arranged by de la Barre, two Hamburgers were allowed, by a special resolution of the Council of Nevis, to sell provisions to that island, and it required a very humble petition from Bridge and the other councillors to secure pardon for the technical breach of the law<sup>4</sup>. Other transgressions were far from technical. Statia, just off the north end of St Christopher, became in Dutch hands a flourishing depôt for illegal trade: to this very day the vast ruins of store houses along the beach recall the time when it was one of the most flourishing ports of the West Indies. Here the planters took their goods in shallops, when necessary under cover at night, and during 1670 no less than 400,000 lbs. of tobacco were thus transported from Antigua, while Montserrat also took part in this illegal trade<sup>5</sup>. With the arrival of Wheler the islands found they had a governor who was not only a

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, II, 792 (Willoughby—Arlington, 25. 8. 64), 804 (petitions, 20. 9. 64).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 731 (Nevis petition to Willoughby, 29. 4. 64).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 895 (minute by Williamson, n.d.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* II, 1631, 1694, 1880-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 553 (Lynch—Arlington, 15. 6. 71).



theorist in mercantile matters, but an energetic administrator anxious to put his views into practice. He promptly seized the 'James' of Belfast, a non-free ship which was trading at Nevis, and procured her naturalisation by the King, and a gift to himself and others of the royal share of the forfeiture<sup>1</sup>. His other actions were more high-handed: on frivolous pretences he seized a Jamaican logwood ship among the Virgin Islands, and attempted to secure the wholesale condemnation of the light-draught shallops which carried on the inter-island trade. To this day the inhabitants of Saba are famed for their skill in boat-building and most of the small craft in the Caribbee Islands come from there: it was the same in Wheler's time. He found that the shallops were generally Dutch built, and by a harsh interpretation of the law and regardless of former custom, he tried these boats and condemned them as foreign built<sup>2</sup>. If he had possessed the power he would willingly have gone yet further. Holding the orthodox economic doctrine of the day, which looked askance at the New England colonies as trade rivals of the mother country, he was distressed to see the growing trade between them and the Leeward Islands. He proposed that fish should be shipped from England to "beat out" the New England trade, while he suggested that the King should force the islands to import English instead of Irish beef, even if it did cost twice as much, for this would raise rents in England and help the King's taxes<sup>3</sup>. Wheler's blunders, however, soon sent him back to England in disgrace, and he was succeeded by a soldier of fortune, now turned planter, who had no very great ideas on economic policy but did what he was told.

During Stapleton's governorship the laws of trade were honestly carried out, and complaints against the governor never take the form of accusations of countenancing illegal trading. If he was regarded by some as not being sufficiently active against interlopers, he is not charged with failure to enforce the Acts

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 567, 631, 660, 813 (complaints against Wheler's behaviour). The 'James' was alleged to be a Dutch-built vessel not made "free."

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 804 (précis of a lost letter from Stapleton, d. 2. 11. 71); cf. *West India Pilot*, II, 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71).

of Trade<sup>1</sup>. He took his duties seriously, asking for an explanation of doubtful points in the various Acts, and raising the question of the general validity of naturalisation papers given in another plantation<sup>2</sup>. He administered the Acts in a practical way, and at times remitted small fines to poor men who might be ruined by them.

If a poor fellow for instance transgresses the Acts of Trade, goes he and another, in a canoe and brings in anything by law forbidden, he has nothing but his boat to support his wife and children. Or if he is fined for anything else to the value of 50 or 100 lbs of sugar, and has nothing but his skin, he must remain in durance, till the King's pleasure is known<sup>3</sup>.

The Lords of Trade, however, looked with suspicion on this remission of sentences, and evidently believed that it might encourage smuggling: they therefore directed that poor men should work out their sentence by labour<sup>4</sup>. This suggestion had its drawbacks and Stapleton pointed them out.

Those that are passed their labour are sometimes fined, and those that are not fined (*sic* = ? passed labour) have wives and children to maintain. I plead not for single men fined.

But the Lords of Trade would authorise no concession in this matter<sup>5</sup>.

A peculiar trade had always existed on St Christopher where French and English shared the island, and arrangements had early been made for this traffic in the local treaties<sup>6</sup>. For the English this trade was quite legal provided they sold English goods and not plantation products, but Colbert interfered with it, hoping to supply the French colonists from home. Just after the English part of the island had been returned he sent instructions to Pélissier.

Quant aux difficultés, dont vous avez envoyé un grand mémoire, qui peuvent arriver par l'interdiction du commerce aux estrangers,

<sup>1</sup> In the Log of H.M.S. 'Deptford' there is no mention of illegal trading, other than by interlopers, except the one case of the Dutch ship at Statia. Admiralty, Captains' Logs, No. 289.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., iv, 954; vi, 415, 447, 460, 542, 544, 560, 585, 586.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 189 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 27. 7. 81).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 429 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 5. 3. 82).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 654 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 16. 8. 82).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. du Tertre, i, 475-9. Treaty of 1655.

à cause de la restitution de la partie de l'isle de S. Christophe aux Anglois, je dois vous dire que le Roy les fera traiter en Angleterre. Cependant, vous devez laisser faire aux Anglois, dans leur partie, ce que bon leur semblera et prendre toutes les précautions nécessaires pour empêcher le commerce aux estrangers dans la partie qui est au Roy<sup>1</sup>.

The French officials understood this to refer to trade within the island as well as to external trade, and set themselves to an almost hopeless task. In 1676 Jeaffreson who had arrived with a large stock of goods bewailed the fact that "trade being prohibited between the English and the French upon this island hinders the sale of dry commodities very much." The following year, however, he noted that since the Dutch war the French were forced to send a large part of their sugar to England<sup>2</sup>. This was the very trade which the French were attempting to put down and with but small success, for, as a French report said, it was merely "one kick of the foot to roll a barrel of beef or a bale of cotton to the French and another to roll a barrel of sugar in payment to the English<sup>3</sup>." The attempts on the part of the French to suppress this trade led to seizures of English goods as they passed along the common roads, and finally to de Blénac's proposals for a new treaty, limiting the common use of roads. This treaty Stapleton indignantly rejected, and Colbert replied to de Blénac's complaint by instructing him to prohibit all trade by sea, but to allow trade by land "which cannot and should not be prevented in this island<sup>4</sup>."

The chief problem for both French and English governors of the Leeward Islands, in the enforcement of their trade regulations, was the suppression of illegal trading with the Dutch. The French maintained regular naval patrols for this purpose, but Stapleton, despite his continual requests, was badly supplied with guard ships. During a long period of his government, however, he was relieved of this difficulty, for by his capture of Statia in 1672, the very centre of the smuggling trade passed

<sup>1</sup> Clément, III<sup>2</sup>, 530 (4. 11. 71). Foreign ships were also forbidden to approach French islands, but a modification of this rule was promised for English ships. *Ib.* 491 (Colbert—de Croissy, 5. 8. 70).

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 184 (5. 6. 76), 216 (12. 5. 77).

<sup>3</sup> Mims, p. 216, quoting from French archives.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 119 and Mims, p. 192 (Colbert—de Blénac, 2. 6. 80).

under his control. Owing to the continuance of their war with the French the Dutch refrained from reclaiming this island when peace was made between themselves and the English, and later diplomatic negotiations caused further delay, so that it was not until 1682 that Statia became once again a Dutch port and hence a contraband depôt. Yet even while Statia was in English hands attempts were made by the Dutch to continue their trade. In October 1679 the vigilance of the French authorities on St Christopher, who were attempting to prevent trade with the English, led to the seizure of English sugars passing through their territory, and of an English ship which had anchored off the Salt Ponds. In their explanation a statement was made that smuggling was going on with a Dutch ship at Statia. The Lords of Trade promptly asked Stapleton for a report and he explained that there had been a Dutch ship at Statia, but he had failed to capture her.

I protest before God there are no such things really as goods brought by a Dutch ship to English St X<sup>p</sup>rs—to the best of my knowledge so far as any negative can be sworn to. The partial judge Dupas never wanted a pretence for biassed judgements which I told the French general, when I met him. Were there any such thing, where is the reason or jurisdiction to condemn an English vessel for it? The truth is, there was at Statia after the Tryal of that vessel and not before nor at the time of the Tryal, a Dutch ship, which might have traded at Statia in defiance of me having no fort or guns mounted there, upon notice of which being there I ordered the Captain of the kitch, to go to Statia (as may appear by the enclosed copy of my order) to seize her; but the bird was flown, and I, thereupon, dismissed the then commander and put one Captain Peter Batterie Commander in that place. It were to be wished that Statia, Saba and Anguilla were as much under water as above it, so the people were off<sup>1</sup>.

When ordering that Statia should be returned the Lords of Trade laid special emphasis on the necessity of excluding illegal trade with that island, but the inhabitants were "a mixed brood more prone to stay than to come off," and by 1690 the smuggling was again in full swing. Dalby Thomas, discussing

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 963, 1024, 1158, 1252, 1279, 1358 (Stapleton—*L.T.P.*, 18. 5. 80); cf. *Log of H.M.S. 'Deptford'* (29. 11. 79), *Admiralty Captains' Logs*, 289.

the state of the sugar trade, enumerates as one of the discouragements to planters,

the great quantity of commodities that are sent out of the Leeward Caribbee Islands, and sold to the Dutch at low prices, for private Lucre; for those people, saving all the Duty, as well as the four and half per cent. there, as the Customs in England, and having Goods in Barter for them directly from Holland, can afford their sugar much cheaper than their Neighbours; so that there go out of that Backdoor for Holland, under the Name of St Eustace Sugar, above a Thousand and Five-hundred Hogsheads of Muscovado Sugar, which, refined with great Advantage to that Nation in Holland, keeps the Markets low in all foreign Ports<sup>1</sup>.

It is worth noticing that after the Peace of Breda there are scarcely any complaints of the Leeward Islands against the Acts of Trade. Despite the large debts they accumulated with the Royal African Company, or perhaps because of this long credit, the islands increased greatly in prosperity: while after the return of Statia to the Dutch that island was a convenient depôt for any planter who wished to find a speedy market, and was willing to run the risk of forfeiture to avoid the payment of duty. The few complaints made are not directed against the enumeration policy. In 1673 Ferdinando Gorges, then acting as Stapleton's agent, petitioned that Scotland might be allowed a free trade with the plantations, as thus only would a good supply of Scotch servants be available; he also asked that goods exported from England to the Leeward Islands might be duty free<sup>2</sup>. Nothing came of these suggestions, and no further proposals were made. When in 1680 the councils of the various islands wrote to the Lords of Trade they reported that their trade was in good condition, and only St Christopher, then in the midst of its attempts to increase its white population, revived in vain the suggestion that Scotland should be permitted to trade with them. They asked whether "the severity of that clause in the Act of Shipping and Navigation forbidding ships from Scotland sailing with Scotch seamen, may not be dispensed with-all for so necessary a service to the Crown; which alone we are credibly informed, would supply our wants for that particular<sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Dalby Thomas, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 490.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1441 (Council S.C.—L.T.P., 12. 7. 80).

Despite the grumbles of the planters and the mournful reports of those who had known St Christopher in more prosperous days, the Leeward Islands recovered quickly from the shock of the French war. In 1671 when St Christopher was just out of enemy hands, Wheler estimated the trade of the Leeward Islands at "about 40 ships a year, chiefly from Bristoll, some few from London, some small trade from Plymouth, and some from Liverpool, all inconsiderable in force and burden<sup>1</sup>." Next year Stapleton put the trade with Europe and New England at 100 ships, mostly of less than 100 tons, while the following year a similar number were freighted and despatched in convoys to avoid the Dutch. In 1674, however, the "blooming hopes" of the planters were "blasted" by the activity and success of the Dutch privateers who were forced to frequent the Leeward Islands owing to the presence of a small English squadron at Barbados. A petition from the representatives of the islands begged the King for a frigate or two, to convoy their shipping and scour the coasts<sup>2</sup>. Stapleton pointed out that the King lost more than the cost of a frigate, by the decline of the customs and the losses by capture.

The Dutch privateers from Curaçoa are very thick hereabouts, they have lately chased 2 merchantmen ashore here whereof one has been protected by our great and small shot and got clear, the other laden homeward bound was cut from the Road, though not from the land, the master running her ashore on the rocks, before the enemy should have her<sup>3</sup>.

This hindrance to trade came quickly to an end with the signing of peace between England and the States General, and shipping again increased. In 1676 Stapleton estimated it at 100 ships yearly, from 15 to 200 tons, exclusive of the inter-island trade carried on by sloops and ketches<sup>4</sup>. An even higher estimate is given in "The Past and Present State of the Leeward Islands," a document handed in to the Lords of Trade in 1677 by Freeman, acting on Stapleton's behalf. It refers to the possibility

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71). It would seem that the 40 ships was the total trade of all the islands.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1257 (petition of the islands, 26. 3. 74).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1237 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 7. 3. 74).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 1152 (Stapleton's answers, 22. 11. 76).

of war with France, and the consequent danger of firing the plantations "as hath been too much practised in those parts." This, it was pointed out,

would not only be an irreparable loss and ruin of many hundreds of good families that inhabit the same, but to the English Trade and Navigation there, those islands spending great quantities of Commodities and Manufactures, and load off yearly some two hundred sail of ships with sugar, tobacco and indigo, considerable to His Majestie's customs revenue, for the said islands may moderately be estimated to be worth one million of money sterling to His Majesties subjects, and the loss of them may endanger the loss of Barbados<sup>1</sup>.

These figures may well be exaggerated, for the pamphlet was an elaborate appeal for adequate naval protection in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. It is impossible to check them from the surviving statistics, but it is quite clear that with the increasing supply of labour the islands were developing very rapidly. The price of negroes was falling, partly owing to inferior shipments, but partly to the excellent supply at the moment: in 1682 there was a regular glut on the market.

Despite the regulations of the Act of 1660, ordering the return, twice a year, of copies of all bonds issued in the plantations, and the subsequent order in the Act of 1673, which imposed the plantation duties, that a yearly list of all ships lading enumerated commodities should be sent to London, these returns were not rendered regularly<sup>2</sup>. In 1681 the naval officer was instructed to make a yearly return to the Lords of Trade showing all imports and exports, the tonnage and number of guns of each ship, and the names of the masters, but even if these were sent regularly the majority of them seem to have disappeared<sup>3</sup>. But while it is quite impossible to check accurately the estimates of shipping to the Leeward Islands in these early days, some idea of the size and nature of this trade, and the comparative importance of the different islands can be obtained from the statistics that have survived.

Nevis was the centre of the Leeward Island trade: a large

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 628.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 694-5 (report of Commissioners of Customs, 11. 11. 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 295.

part of the produce of the other islands was brought there in shallops and thence shipped home or to New England<sup>1</sup>. The people of St Christopher complained in 1680 that this indirect trade forced them to pay an extra 20 per cent. on all their imports, while each of the three less favoured islands regarded the good fortune of Nevis with jealousy<sup>2</sup>. These islands were anxious to develop an independent trade, and though they were unable to persuade the Royal African Company to supply them direct with negroes, their growing importance made their other attempts more successful. Thus in the year 1683-1684, while Nevis had 63 ships loading enumerated commodities, Montserrat had no less than 33<sup>3</sup>. Two years previously Montserrat was visited by 55 ships with a total tonnage of 4309, though no record has been preserved of their cargoes<sup>4</sup>. From June 1677 to August 1680, a period of 39 months, 84 ships arrived at St Christopher, while from October 1682 to February 1684, the arrivals for the 17 months were 29<sup>5</sup>. Antigua, too, developed a trade independent of Nevis, and was soon to take its place both as the political and economic centre of the group.

The Leeward Islands are an excellent example of the tropical plantation, dear to the heart of the mercantilist, producing nothing that could compete with the manufactures of the mother country, but only those raw materials which she needed, and in return offering a good market for her staple products. The islands imported wines, provisions and manufactured goods of every sort, negroes and horses for work on the plantations, and timber for building purposes. These goods came to the islands by three main routes. The Guinea trade brought a regular supply of slaves both in the company's ships and in unauthorised traders: on their return voyage to England these ships carried little but sugar.

The English trade consisted largely of manufactured goods, clothes, hats, shoes, furniture and household necessities, stuffs and hangings, swords and fire-arms, iron tools, saddlery, and

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 680; cf. Jeaff. MSS., I, 216, 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1441 (Council S.C.—L.T.P., 12, 7, 80).

<sup>3</sup> C.O. 390/6, pp. 87, 117.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, VI, 618.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 1582; *ib.*, VI, 1664.



Table VII

## Exports from Nevis, 1677-1684.

		To England	To Plantations	Total
29. 9. 77—16. 5. 78				
No. of ships ...	...	37	8	45
Sugar, tons ...	...	1505½	230½	1736
Ginger, bags ...	...	24	—	24
Indigo, casks ...	...	16	—	16
Dying wood, sticks ...	...	152	—	152
Tobacco, lbs. ...	...	5000	—	5000
29. 8. 83—25. 8. 84				
No. of ships ...	...	41	22	63
Sugar, tons ...	...	2161½	192½	2354
4. 11. 85—4. 9. 86				
No. of ships ...	...	40	18	58
Sugar, tons ...	...	2054	103	2157
Cotton, bags ...	...	5	50	55
Rum, hogsheads ...	...	—	31	31
„ tierces ...	...	—	2	2
„ barrils ...	...	—	22	22
Indigo, barrils ...	...	32	—	32
Hides ...	...	—	12	12
Cocoa, lbs. ...	...	—	100	100
Molasses, hogsheads ...	...	61	511	572
„ tierces ...	...	—	31	31
„ barrils ...	...	2	22	24
20. 9. 86—6. 7. 87				
No. of ships ...	...	32	14	46
Sugar, tons ...	...	2134	43	2177
Cotton, bags ...	...	6	22	28
Indigo, barrils ...	...	32	1	33
Molasses, tons ...	...	—	72	72

(C.O. 390/6, pp. 87-8.)

Exports from Montserrat (*to England only*).

14. 7. 83—24. 7. 84

No. of ships ...	...	23
Sugar, lbs. ...	...	200,170
Cotton „ ...	...	1,800
Indigo „ ...	...	41,875
Tobacco „ ...	...	47,500

(Ib. p. 117.)

The above lists do not contain the full number of ships trading to the island, but only those which loaded enumerated commodities, e.g. in 1677-8, 65 ships called at Nevis (C.O. 1/42, 98 (xvi)) of which only 45 loaded with enumerated goods (see above).

the various utensils needed in sugar manufacture, copper stills, ladles, skimmers, and indentured servants. Provisions, too, were brought, including ale and beer, which was the common drink of the poorer folk, who could not afford wine and found rum or kill-devil "too hott" for general use<sup>1</sup>. From Ireland were imported provisions, especially butter and barrels of beef, and it was this trade which Wheler regarded with suspicion as competing with the natural exports of England. The trade with Madeira was very lucrative, for the demand for wine was so constant that a regular portion of the island revenue was raised by a duty on its import.

I promised to informe you what are the best commodities in these parts (wrote Jeaffreson to his cousin Poyntz in London), I must begin with Madeira wine as the most profitable, for the merchant sends to that island baizes, serges, that is perpetuanes, hatts, cheese, butter, white and red herrings, pilchards, and beefe, all which, if they come to a bad market there, are good commodities here, but being trucked there for wines makes double profit of the voyage. And there is noe living here without those wines....It is worth sometimes five or seven pounds a pipe<sup>2</sup>.

The trade with New England was largely a rival of that with the home country, for from the northern colonies the planters imported fish and provisions, besides horses and the wood necessary for their buildings. Timber of every kind, boards, shingles for roofing, and even "houses ready framed" were shipped from New England<sup>3</sup>. That country, too, supplied the staves from which the local coopers made their barrels: the hoops generally came from England. This trade was looked on with anything but favour by the economists of the day, and Dalby Thomas speaks of it with studious moderation.

Thus began that numerous Colony New England where under frugal laws, customs and constitutions, they live, without applying themselves to planting any tobacco, or other American commodities except for their own private use. But by tillage, pasture, fishing, manufacture and Trade they, to all intents and purposes imitate old England, and did formerly much, and in some Degree do now, supply the other Colonies with Provisions in Exchange for their commodities

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, "Typical Cargoes."

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 185 (5. 6. 76), 191.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., IV, 1067.

as Tobacco, Sugar, etc., which they carried to foreign Markets, how conveniently for the Nation's Interest I shall not determine, being No Enemy to any kind of honest Industry: But this cannot chuse but be allowed, that, if any Hands in the Indies be wrong employed for domestick Interest, it must be theirs, and those other Colonies, which settle with no other Prospect than the like Way of Living: Therefore, if any, such only should be neglected, and discouraged who pursue a Method, that rivals our native Kingdom, and threatens, in Time, a total Independency thereupon<sup>1</sup>.

The New England men were usually first on the market and the close commercial relations between them and the Leeward planters are reflected in the local acts of the islands, which rated the Boston money concurrently with the Spanish pieces of eight<sup>2</sup>. In 1677 the New England trade of the Leeward Islands was but little smaller than that of Barbados, for in the year commencing Michaelmas, 1677, New England received 280,000 lbs. of sugar from the two islands Nevis and St Christopher, as against 370,000 from Barbados<sup>3</sup>.

Besides this long distance trade, there was a growing commerce among the West Indian islands for local commodities. A host of small craft supplied the islands with salt fetched from the famous pans of Salt Tortuga, an island just west of Curaçoa. The Bermudas were already becoming famous for their market gardens, and sloops brought poultry, honey, cheese and "cabighos" thence to Nevis. From the Cayman Islands, always noted for their turtle fisheries, came salt turtle, and turtle oil.

In return the islands exported to England, chiefly Muscovado sugar, and some little rum: tobacco, indigo, cotton and ginger were also sent in small quantities. New England received little but Muscovado and its by-products, but as the colonies soon set up distilleries of their own, they began to import molasses in preference to rum. In time their demand became so great that

<sup>1</sup> Dalby Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., i, 244. Barbados never rated the New England money officially.

<sup>3</sup> See Table VIII. Out of 68 ships calling at St Christopher, Mar. 1684-Mar. 1685, 26 came from the Mainland colonies. At Montserrat from Nov. 1681-July 1682, there are 9 New England ships as against 35 from England and Ireland. At Nevis, October 1684-March 1685, the proportion is 28 to 31 (C.O. 157/1; C.O. 1/49, 8).

they developed a trade with the French West Indies to the intense annoyance of the English planters<sup>1</sup>. Despite their growing prosperity, the Leeward Islands were becoming more and more dependent on slave labour and a single staple crop, with all the problems that such dependence implies.

Table VIII

## INTER-PLANTATION TRADE

An Account of all goods entered in H.M. Customs from one plantation to another. Michaelmas 1677-Michaelmas 1678.

	Sugar lbs.	Tobacco lbs.	Cotton bags	Ginger lbs.	Indigo lbs.	Fustick tons
<i>From Jamaica to</i>						
Virginia ...	33,100	—	—	—	—	—
The Bay ...	19,600	970	—	—	—	—
New England ...	—	—	2,000	—	—	—
New York ...	—	—	—	—	—	7
Carolina ...	1,200	—	—	—	—	—
Corasoa ...	—	160	—	—	—	—
	53,900	1,300	2,000	—	—	7
<i>From Nevis to</i>						
Virginia ...	3,136	—	—	—	—	—
New England ...	130,266	2,160	—	—	180	—
Barbados ...	—	—	—	—	230	—
St Christopher ...	3,136	—	—	—	—	—
Bermudas ...	3,920	—	—	—	—	—
	140,458	2,160	—	—	410	—
<i>From St Christopher to</i>						
Virginia ...	22,230	—	—	—	—	—
New England ...	152,541	—	300	12,052	1,155	—
Bermudas ...	6,852	—	—	1,344	—	—
Nevis ...	896	—	—	—	—	—
Montserrat ...	—	—	—	—	20	—
	182,519	—	300	13,396	1,175	—
<i>From Barbados to</i>						
Virginia ...	131,970	—	—	—	—	—
New England ...	373,114	—	49,943	1,150	—	—
New York ...	30,550	—	2,290	1,378	—	—
Carolina ...	9,325	—	—	—	—	—
Jamaica ...	3,800	—	—	—	—	—
Bermudas ...	36,530	—	716	100	—	—
	585,289	—	52,949	2,628	—	—

The returns from the other plantations were not to hand when this list was compiled. (C.O. 1/43, 180.)

<sup>1</sup> This conflict of interest led to the passing of the Molasses Act in 1733. See Pitman, Cap. xi.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE ISLAND GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR CONTROL BY THE LORDS OF TRADE

I am, and ever have been, deeply sensible of the difficulty of reconciling the strong presiding power, that is so useful towards the conservation of a vast, disconnected, infinitely diversified empire, with that liberty and safety of the provinces, which they must enjoy (in opinion and practice at least) or they will not be provinces at all.

BURKE, *On the Affairs of America* (letter to Sheriffs of Bristol, 1777).

THE selection of men for appointment as Colonial Governors was generally accompanied by intrigue and wire-pulling; both merchants and planters strove to secure the post for their own nominee, but their quarrels often led to the choice of a royal favourite. Such was the case when Wheler was appointed the first Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands<sup>1</sup>. His powers were those usually granted to royal governors, and included the right to appoint deputy-governors for the islands, to call assemblies, to grant land, and to act as Vice-Admiral according to a commission and instructions to be received from the Duke of York<sup>2</sup>. It was not so much the legal powers possessed by a governor that were important, as the capacity of the man who possessed them, and it was in this matter that Wheler proved a failure. He came to the Leeward Islands full of plans for their development: he determined to put down illegal trading with a ruthless hand: he formulated a sound scheme for staffing the colonial church, and he succeeded in regaining possession of St Christopher; but his total ignorance of local conditions

<sup>1</sup> The surprise of the planters at Wheler's appointment is reflected in a letter from Samuel Winthrop of Antigua, "I suppose thou hast heart yt last yeare one Sr Charles Wheeler by some means procured a commission for to be generall over theis leward Caribee Island..." Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Coll. Series V, vol. VII, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the constitutional powers of the governor, see E. B. Greene, *The Provincial Governor* (Harvard Hist. Studies). C.S.P., III, 393 (Wheler's Commission, 25. 1. 71), 417 (power to appoint deputy-governors, 24. 2. 71). The limitation of duration of laws to two years unless confirmed by the King was a change from Willoughby's Commission.

resulted in a series of blunders and a speedy recall<sup>1</sup>. The governor was granted a salary of £700 which was charged on the farm of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty, but Wheler tried to force the Council and Assembly of Nevis to vote him a poll tax of 20 lbs. per head which had been paid to previous governors. The island claimed that the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty had cancelled such levies, and, led by Russel, they refused the grants.

I am afraid of Collonel Russel (wrote Wheler) and although I extreamely want money...I dare not make this levy of 20 lbs per head due to me as Governor. For if Collonel Russel refuse to pay it, as he declared at the board before me and all the Council and Assembly, he is so leading a cast in this island, that all will follow his example<sup>2</sup>.

By this time Wheler, who from the very first had been regarded with suspicion, was cordially detested by the planters, and his recall was very popular.

The long and successful governorship of Stapleton was due to the honesty, experience and ability of the man, and to his connection with the planter interest, but not to any difference in his powers; for after a lengthy discussion it was decided to draft his commission in the same terms as Wheler's<sup>3</sup>. Stapleton

<sup>1</sup> "Because I do serve for an University in Parliament, I am the more bold to affirm (though it may be contrary to their sense) that it would be for the general good of the Universities, if young men when they came first to practise preaching, were instead of retiring into remote parts for £10 a year, and into schools to be ushers, and some to teach A.B.C. to children, might be chosen by the Universities to go into the Plantations for 5 years to have the charges of their voyage backwards and forwards defrayed, and an £100 sterling per annum allowed them while they are there; and his Majesty's countenance at their return.... I shall...in the space of a year erect a College or two, out of which ye Government shall be supplied with pious and able men." *C.S.P.*, III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71).

Wheler asked for Dr Turner, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, to be consecrated Bishop of the Leeward Islands. He also proposed that Turner should bring out eight Fellows as the nucleus of the proposed College. Turner was to receive £400, and each of the Fellows £100 per annum, and Wheler asked that they might enjoy the emoluments of their fellowship although absent. *C.S.P.*, III, 591, 592.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 775 (Wheler—C.F.P., 6. 3. 72). Wheler had also alienated the merchants "whose pens have flown abroad liberally and falsely."

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 393, 740 (Wheler and Stapleton, Commissions); cf. 749. Stapleton did not receive his promised commission from the Duke of York till 1677, *C.S.P.*, v, 370. The commission was dated 26. 7. 77 (original in Stapleton MSS.), and in 1679, Henry Saville, writing to his brother Lord Halifax, pointed out that "...Coll. Stapylton, an Irish Papist, is Govr of the Leeward Islands, and do also there execute the office of Vice-Admiral by

was a typical planter governor. He had by now settled down as a considerable planter in Montserrat, and in 1671 had married Anne Russel, the sister of Wheler's opponent. He was thus connected not only with the large family of Russels in Nevis, but with the Warners and Kaynells of Antigua<sup>1</sup>. Though he was a planter, Stapleton's policy was to hold the balance between the rival interests. Towards the end of his government he could write,

Collonel J. Nethway, Collonel Thomas and Captain Jeaffreson, or any other Planters that are not traders will tell you that I always stood by the merchants; and though I have been solicited and petitioned to stop the Courts of judicature after two hurricanes and a drought, I have never done so, as I can prove<sup>2</sup>.

Unfortunately Wheler could never forgive the man who had succeeded him, and Stapleton's subsequent actions hardly improved matters. Wheler had been entrusted with pay for the two companies at St Christopher, and as he fled without satisfying their claims, a plantation in which he had an interest was sequestered and sold. Wheler complained and lost no chance of disparaging the character and abilities of his successful rival. His chief ground of attack was on Stapleton's religion; the new governor was, he hinted, an Irish Papist.

Whenever the King my superior calls me to a religious account, I shall fully declare my trust in religion (replied Stapleton, carefully avoiding the point) I hope I have enough of it through God's mercy to save my soul, that little I have I learnt it amongst the noises of drums and trumpets and that in his Majesty's service at home and abroad; I pray God it may do me no good if I do not venture my life and 1000 if I had them, to defend my sovereign's rights and titles or to kill and destroy all manner of persons, emperors, kings, popes and prelates on their invading any part of His Majesty's territories<sup>3</sup>.

virtue of a Commission from his Royal Highness, given since he laid down the anchor in England, as if his power had yet subsisted in the Indies as well as in Scotland...." Saville Correspondence (Camden Soc.), p. 92.

<sup>1</sup> At his death Stapleton owned plantations in all of the four islands. Will (proved 28. 10. 86).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1535 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 13. 2. 84). This letter was written in reply to the innuendos of his late agent Freeman. Stapleton himself was a vigorous opponent of the Act of Extent of Antigua.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1333 (Stapleton—C.T.P., 23. 7. 74).

Despite this fervid declamation, Stapleton's religion was a good point to attack, and his enemy recurred to it in the heat of the Popish Plot. The petition of the House of Commons of November, 1678, begging the King to recall commissions to all papists, was specially worded to include Stapleton and thus to satisfy Wheler's vengeance<sup>1</sup>. Wheler even had the impertinence to suggest that this soldier of fortune, who had seen service all over the Continent, had no military experience: "the King's Governor (of St Christopher) is Captain Matthews, who never saw any action in his life," he reported to the Lords of Trade, "and his Lieutenant-General Collonel Stapleton as little<sup>2</sup>." Such malice was too obvious to attain its purpose.

As governor, Stapleton wrote home frequently and his despatches are short and to the point: all are written with his own hand, even the lengthy answers to the list of questions sent him by the Lords of Trade.

I pray your Lordships to overlook interlineations and conspurcations (he wrote in 1680) for I write all in my own hand, as it is my duty to superiors, and it (the hand) is lame<sup>3</sup>.

His earlier letters are formal and written with deference, but, as he becomes more sure of his position, his letters get delightfully familiar. They are interspersed with reminiscences of his life on the Continent, and witty references; he is never at a loss for an apt quotation, and is as ready to hurl a Latin tag at a privateer as to quote a saying of Mazarin's<sup>4</sup>. When he gets excited, which is not infrequent, rules of grammar are flung to the wind, and a torrent of declamation is poured forth to overwhelm the opponent.

The governor corresponded direct both with the Secretary of State, and the Council for Plantations. After the Lords of

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. Ormonde, N.S., iv, 477 (Southwell—Ormonde, 19. 11. 78); cf. Saville Correspondence (Camden Soc.), p. 92 (Hy Saville—Halifax, 5. 6. 79).

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., iv, 618 (Wheler—L.T.P., 7. 7. 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1463 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 1. 7. 80). The Calendar wrongly shows this P.S. as belonging to the letter of 27. 7. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 777 enclosure (Stapleton—Gov. St Thomas); v, 1359. "I suppose they may hold it as a maxim in that court the answer given in my own hearing by Cardinal Mazarin to an officer who alleged a promise made to him, 'Le roy n'est pas esclave de sa parole.' It was in that King's minority at Fontaine Belleau."



Trade were given charge of plantation affairs, Stapleton wrote less to the Secretary of State, though the double correspondence continued<sup>1</sup>. Besides this official correspondence he wrote frequently to Sir Robert Southwell, the Secretary to the Lords of Trade, and to Blathwayt as the latter's influence with the committee increased. It was customary, when a governor was appointed, to give him a list of about 30 questions concerning his government to which answers were required. These Stapleton answered in great detail, and again in 1676, when the Lords of Trade had just taken over control and wished for a fresh report. He also sent maps of the various islands, and a complete census showing the distribution of the population by households<sup>2</sup>. The Lords of Trade, who, a little later, found it necessary to threaten the governor of Barbados with dismissal if he did not give them more accurate information, appreciated Stapleton's careful replies<sup>3</sup>.

We cannot but acknowledge (they wrote) your great diligence and punctuality in giving us so frequent and circumstantial accounts of his Majesty's islands under your government, and the methods you pursue in discharge of the trust reposed in you...we cannot omit to signify unto you the satisfaction we find in your answer to our Inquiries<sup>4</sup>.

In their attempt to strengthen their control over the plantations, the Lords of Trade felt it was necessary to obtain other information than that given in the formal despatches of the governor. In 1680 therefore they issued orders that quarterly reports should be sent home by the deputy-governor and Council of each island. By this means, and with the help of the Journals of the local Councils and Assemblies, they hoped to obtain a more faithful picture of life in the plantations. The governor's usual duty of correspondence remained unaltered; but this attempt of the committee to obtain regular letters from different points of view was to prove a failure<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 464 (Williamson—Stapleton, 30. 10. 77).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, 896 (answers, 17. 7. 72); IV, 1152 (answers, 12. 11. 76); v, 741 (census, 29. 6. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1261 (14. 1. 80).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 404 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 10. 9. 77).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1279 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 23. 1. 80). "It is withall his Majesty's pleasure that notwithstanding these informations we are to receive from other hands, each Governor do remain under their former obligation of corre-

Like Wheler, Stapleton was entitled to a salary of £700 per annum paid by the King, from the proceeds of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.<sup>1</sup> He also obtained gifts from the islands of varying amounts, until the rule requiring the royal confirmation of all such gifts limited the indiscriminate voting of *douceurs*<sup>2</sup>. Stapleton's official pay, both that owing to him as Lieutenant-Colonel in Bridge's regiment, and his salary as Governor-in-Chief, was always in arrears. Despite constant petitions he could never get this matter put on a satisfactory basis. In 1699, thirteen years after his death, his widow was suddenly called to account in the Exchequer for sums amounting to close on £28,000, which had passed through his hands as pay for the two companies at St Christopher. Stapleton's honesty was sufficiently proved by the fact that his widow was able to produce the necessary muster rolls and receipts, and actually to secure a verdict that nearly £4000 was owing by the Crown; but she could not get this debt paid<sup>3</sup>.

As governor Stapleton was eminently successful, and the Lords of Trade knew when they had a good man, and recommended him accordingly.

We do represent Colonel Stapleton unto your Majesty as a faithful Governor, prudent, able and vigilant Commander, and a person fit to be continued in your Majesty's favour<sup>4</sup>.

spondency, and do not hold themselves excused from transmitting unto us by all conveyances the same informations and public matters as if those orders had not been given. So that as hitherto you have given us very satisfactory accounts we shall continue to expect the same from you in particular by all opportunities."

<sup>1</sup> It would seem as if the government hoped that the islands would eventually support their own governor, see *C.S.P.*, III, 930 (Privy Seal for pay, 23. 9. 72).

<sup>2</sup> The Nevis Assembly voted Stapleton 100,000 lbs. sugar in 1681 and 1684; and 200,000 in 1682 after a lengthy dispute. In 1683 the General Assembly of the Leeward Islands gave him 100,000 (circ. £650). *C.S.P.*, VI, 465, 473, 519, 533, 600, 750, 754, 1354, 1633, 2071 (Journal Nevis Assembly, 1681-84).

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, Anne*, 32/6, fo. 272 (petition of Dame Anne Stapleton, 1712). Later a petition was forwarded to Walpole asking for payment (Stapleton MSS.). It would appear that the prosecution was malicious; no complaints had been received. "The said Prosecution...is, as she is informed, the single instance of its kind, the only widow of a military officer, who has been prosecuted in the Exchequer, or anywhere else, for the soldier's pay, without any complaint made" (Lady Stapleton's petition).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 254 (report L.T.P., 17. 5. 77), 563 (Stapleton's thanks).

His energy and readiness to act on his own responsibility were a pleasant contrast to the sloth or incompetence of other governors: "we have much esteemed the vigilance of Colonel Stapleton in possessing himself of these (Dutch) islands," the Lords reported in 1678<sup>1</sup>. Stapleton was created a baronet in 1679, and he remained governor of the Leeward Islands until 1685 when he returned to England on furlough at his own request<sup>2</sup>. Even then he was expected to go again to the West Indies, and a new commission was being prepared for him, when in August 1686 news arrived that he had died at Paris, where he had gone for a cure<sup>3</sup>. The general opinion was expressed by Henry Clarendon in a letter to Blathwayt.

I am very sorry for the death of Sir William Stapleton: he was one of the best governors the King had in any of his Plantations; and I doubt his successor will come short of him<sup>4</sup>.

It was in June 1683 that Stapleton first asked for a furlough or for permission to retire and as soon as the news reached England a scramble ensued among his would-be successors<sup>5</sup>. Sir John Knight, a Bristol merchant who had large trade interests in the Leeward Islands, made a determined attempt to secure the post. This "Bristol hero" had helped to betray his city's charter to the King, and now looked for his reward. The plan to foist a merchant governor on the islands was pushed by Freeman, a strong friend of Knight's, and as early as October Jeaffreson wrote to the island that Knight had secured a promise from the King. This news frightened the planters, and the island Councils suddenly remembered their duty of corresponding with the Lords of Trade, and took the opportunity to petition most strongly against the proposed appointment. The letter from St Christopher went straight to the point.

We are given to understand that Sir William Stapleton our present Captain General and Chief Governor is soliciting His Majesty or

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 679 (25. 4. 78). Compare 750 where he is complimented for his readiness to accept responsibility in negotiating the Treaty of Neutrality.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll, No. 3208, Pt I, No. 7, 31 Chas. II (20. 12. 79).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, vii, 486, 487, 497 (new commission), 813; cf. Jeaff. MSS., II, 304-5, 315.

<sup>4</sup> Singer, Clarendon Correspondence, I, 576 (Henry C.—Blathwayt, 4.9.86).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1126 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 15. 6. 83).

your Lordships for a permission to leave the country. In pursuit of the trust reposed in us we are bound in duty humbly to beseech your Lordships to give no encouragement to the application of our said general, unless it be only for some short time...for under his auspicious government having had experience of his courage, conduct and justice, we esteem His Majesty's interest and our own much better secured against any hostile attempts...of the French, who will be glad to find these islands under the government of a General not qualified with a martial and soldier-like spirit, as Sir William Stapleton is known among them to be<sup>1</sup>.

Montserrat, where Knight had lived as a trader, petitioned against his appointment, "whose education has been only in merchandising and altogether unexperienced in military affairs, it being contrary to ye rule of merchants to study such concerns<sup>2</sup>." These requests called forth a sharp rebuke from the Lords of Trade, for "too great forwardness in intermeddling with any intentions His Majesty may have of appointing a new Governor<sup>3</sup>."

Knight quickly dropped out of the running, and returned to Bristol. His place as favourite was taken by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, a royal nominee, who eventually obtained the appointment, to the great chagrin of the planter candidate, Sir James Russel, who had acted as Stapleton's deputy during the latter's absence. As early as March 1684 Jeaffreson was certain that Johnson was the destined governor, but his chances seemed to wane when Stapleton decided to return to Nevis. Even when Stapleton's new commission was drafted Johnson never gave up hope, and, at the first news of his rival's death, hastened off thankfully to Windsor, and secured the appointment<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., VI, 1526 (Council S. C.—L.T.P., 1. 2. 84).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, VI, 1546 (Council Montserrat—L.T.P., 18. 2. 84), 1539 (Nevis, 14. 2. 84), 1544 (Antigua, 16. 2. 84). The Assembly of Antigua objected to their Council writing this letter, "we think it our duties to assent to that person whom His Majesty shall be graciously pleased to Commissionate our General," 1543 (Mins. Council Antigua, 15. 2. 84).

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, VI, 1665 (Mins. L.T.P., 7. 5. 84).

<sup>4</sup> For Knight see Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 422-3. Knight petitioned against the mis-statements of the Leeward Islands, but no action was taken. C.S.P., VI, 1744, 1754. The whole intrigue can be followed in Jeaffreson MSS., II, 99, 106, 110, 157, 166, 183, 310. Stapleton died at Paris on 3rd August, 1686, and Johnson was appointed by the 9th at least, *ib.* p. 326. *London Gazette* of 16. 8. 86.

The new commission limited the governor's powers by reserving to the King the appointment of deputy-governors, and of all Councillors in the Leeward Islands: all laws were to remain in force unless disallowed by the King. These changes had already been included in the draft of Stapleton's new commission<sup>1</sup>. Johnson however stayed but a short time in the Leeward Islands; and distinguished himself chiefly by fleeing from his post at the Revolution.

Each of the four islands had a deputy-governor who previous to 1686 was appointed by the Governor-in-Chief, in virtue of his commission<sup>2</sup>. These officers were paid at the discretion of the local assemblies and were generally local men<sup>3</sup>. Thus Nevis was governed in turn by three of the Russel family, though for a short time Stapleton did not trouble to appoint a deputy, as he lived there himself. Montserrat had only Irishmen as its governors: first Edmund Stapleton, Sir William's brother, then his comrade in arms, James Cottar, and on the latter's return to England, Stapleton's younger brother Redmond. Antigua had a popular planter governor in Philip Warner, but after his disgrace, the post remained vacant until Vaughan and then Stapleton's young brother-in-law, Valentine Russel, were appointed<sup>4</sup>. The chance of making a fortune in the plantations was always a ready lure, and the King was besieged with petitions for office. Thus Powell and Hill, two soldiers of fortune, came out in 1682 with letters of recommendation to Stapleton, and were appointed governors of Antigua and St Christopher respectively<sup>5</sup>. The need of a plentiful supply of

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vii, 486 (Mem. for Stapleton's commission, 2. 12. 85), 497 (Stapleton's petition), 858 (Johnson's commission, 12. 9. 86).

<sup>2</sup> Commissions to these deputy-governors are not in the Public Record Office. Stapleton's own commission from Willoughby as deputy-governor of Montserrat is among the Stapleton MSS.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Edmund Stapleton received 35,000 lbs. sugar for 1678 and 47,500 for 1679 (Montserrat accounts, Stapleton MSS.).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, v, 741; vii, 520 (Lists of officers), and Stapleton's letters, *passim*. Johnson also thought a deputy-governor of Nevis was unnecessary, vii, 1387.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 461, 721, 1006. Stapleton told the Council of Antigua that he appointed Powell "although it is contrary to my particular interest in many respects.... The affection I bear towards the welfare of Antigua has invited me to it." C.O. 1/49, 81 (Mins. Council Antigua, 18. 6. 83). At St Christopher, Hill succeeded Matthews, Stapleton's old comrade in arms in Bridge's regiment, who had recently died.

patronage led to the reservation of the appointments of deputy-governors to the King, but as each fresh nominee came out thirsting to make his fortune, this change was hardly beneficial.

The dependence of even deputy-governors on the local assemblies for their pay, was looked on with displeasure by the Lords of Trade. In May 1682 a new regulation was issued ordering that no presents should be given direct to governors, but that all money should be voted to the King with the request that he would allow the governor to accept it<sup>1</sup>. The new rule, it was feared, would hamper grants, and the deputy-governors of the four islands, "all soldiers of fortune and through God's mercy and His Majesty's goodness...advanced to the station wherein we are," begged to be relieved of its operation<sup>2</sup>. Their fear was amply justified; for the Assembly of Antigua promptly pleaded that the rule forbade all grants, and refused a vote even though the Council sent down their minute book to show them that they had misconstrued the royal instructions<sup>3</sup>. The rule remained in force, however, and Johnson's proposal for raising a permanent revenue to secure the independence of the governors came to nothing<sup>4</sup>.

The islands were ruled by the governor with the assistance of a Council and Assembly in each island. Twelve was the number ordered for the Council, but owing to the depopulation of the islands Stapleton was at first unable to make up this number without crippling the Assembly. The Council, chosen "out of the principal Planters and inhabitants," was the stronghold of the wealthy planters. No Councillor was to be removed without sufficient cause, and such removal had to be reported

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1066 (additional instructions, 7. 5. 83).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 498 (petition to King, 14. 12. 85); cf. 614. The four governors were Thomas Hill, Sir James Russel, Redmond Stapleton and Edward Powell.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 612 (Mins. Council Antigua, 26. 3. 86).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 1773 (Johnson's proposal, 2. 6. 88); cf. 1630. Both Johnson and his kinsman Blakiston, whom he appointed to Montserrat, were voted presents and given permission to accept them; 1387, 1653, 1806. William Burt, whom Stapleton left as deputy-governor of Nevis when he returned to England, accepted 100,000 lbs. of sugar: his executors pleaded that he had been ignorant of the new rule; vi, 452, 547; vii, 557, 929, 996, 1273, 1387.

at once to the King<sup>1</sup>. Throughout his governorship Stapleton was on excellent terms with his Councils in the various islands, and they usually supported him in every way<sup>2</sup>. When in 1680 the Lords of Trade determined to get into touch with the local planters as well as with the royal governor they ordered that the deputy-governor of each island should send in duplicate a quarterly report enclosing his Council minutes: this letter was to be signed by the Governor-in-Chief, the deputy-governor, and the whole Council<sup>3</sup>. They also ordered the Clerk of the Assembly to send similarly the minutes for the quarter, and the Secretary of the Islands to send copies of all important documents which came into his office, while the Governor-in-Chief was to send over all the Acts that were in force. The Councils replied to the Lords of Trade with a general description of their state. St Christopher declared, "we are, we thank God for it, unanimous for the doctrine and discipline of our Holy Mother the Church of England, with few or no sectaries or dissenters among us"; but their temporal state hardly gave them such satisfaction. The usual grievances were repeated: St Christopher could never hope to finish the fort without further help "unless we forsake our sickle and wholly betake ourselves to the mattocke and spade"; while Antigua remarked, "Your Lordships well know that good and well equipped frigates are the brazen walls of islands<sup>4</sup>." The committee's plan for quarterly reports was a failure, for after this outburst of letter writing the Councils did not write again until 1682. The Lords of Trade suddenly woke up to the fact that they had

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 393, 398, 740, 744 (commissions and instructions). The first Councillor appointed by the King, after the right of appointment had been reserved to the Crown was Christopher Codrington, a Barbados planter who had settled at Antigua, and was to succeed Johnson as Governor-in-Chief, VII, 29, 585. The King had previously at times directed special appointments to the Council, e.g. Bridge at Barbados, and Plott at Nevis (VI, 593).

<sup>2</sup> Contrast Wheler's quarrel with Russel, and Johnson's immediate suspension of two Nevis councillors, VII, 1773.

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, V, 1261 (L.T.P.—Dep.-Gov. and Council of each of Leeward Island, 14. 1. 80), 1262 (L.T.P.—Sec. L.I., same date), 1263 (L.T.P.—Clerk of Assembly), 1279 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 23. 1. 80).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, V, 1392, 1400, 1441-2 (letters of the Councils, June-July, 80).

received no letters and sent a reprimand<sup>1</sup>, to which the Council of Nevis replied with the explanation that they often did not meet for six months, while in a twelvemonth they frequently had nothing to report<sup>2</sup>. Again the correspondence dropped, and it was only the rumoured appointment of Knight as governor in 1684, that drove all four Councils to a hurried protest<sup>3</sup>.

The attempt of the Lords of Trade to obtain copies of the proceedings of the local Parliaments was somewhat more successful. The Council of Montserrat declared point blank that their debates and Council orders were such only as were necessary for the particular concerns of the island: they sent no copies and were not asked for them again<sup>4</sup>. The only Assembly which took the trouble to obey was that of Nevis, where the clerk returned the journals with great regularity<sup>5</sup>. Of the Council minutes those previous to 1681 were sent home by Stapleton in that year by the hand of Cottar who was returning to England, but the later proceedings came very irregularly<sup>6</sup>. The orders of the Lords of Trade meant a great deal of clerical work, and the planters were as loth to pay for this as they were to have their private affairs looked into by the merchants at home.

The local assemblies, to which each parish elected two representatives, met frequently, and as their local money bills were only passed for one year, their annual session was a necessity. Like the Councils the Assemblies represented the planter interest, and this was emphasised when the right of electing the Assembly men at Nevis was restricted to freeholders. The merchants of Charlestown petitioned that as they paid one-fourth of the levies, they should have two members for

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 429 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 5.3.82). "You will tell your Councils that we have received their letters...[of 1680]...and greatly wonder much to have received no more. We expect from them as from you a quarterly account of all transactions of the government, and of the Proceedings of the Council and Assembly."

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 601 (6.7.82).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1526, 1539, 1543, 1546. The Council of S. C. asked that the Governor-in-Chief, and the Deputy-Governor might be excused from signing the letter as it was confidential. Governor Hill sent a separate letter 1536.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1442; cf. vi, 1546.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, v, 1438 (clerk Assembly Nevis—L.T.P., 10.7.80). The clerk of S. C. promised the same, but no journals survive, 1439.

<sup>6</sup> See Note A at end of chapter.



their town and their ancient privileges in choosing them; but this was refused<sup>1</sup>.

By passing the Acts of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty the island assemblies had assented to a perpetual revenue Act, but they recognised that further taxation must be raised for local purposes, and never took up the extreme position which the Barbados Assembly adopted. Although there were occasional quarrels as to what expenses should be met by the King out of that duty, the revenue Acts were passed each year for various purposes<sup>2</sup>. In 1670 the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty had been farmed for seven years to Colonel Strode for £700 per annum and it was refarmed in 1677, together with the Barbados duty for £5300: this low price was possibly due to the fear of a war with France<sup>3</sup>. The Leeward planters did not like to see their revenue farmed to strangers, and in 1679 made an offer through Crispe to farm the revenue themselves, at the same price as was then being paid. A counter proposal by the Lords of Trade that the islands should commute the tax was refused, Montserrat only being willing to adopt the suggestion. In return they asked that the duty might be given them for a couple of years towards their expenses of fortification, or alternatively that they might farm it. These negotiations came to nothing, and when the farm again expired in 1684 the duty was collected direct<sup>4</sup>. On this duty was charged the governor's salary of £700 per annum, and the arrears of pay due to Bridge's regiment: the home government also made itself responsible for the pay of the two standing companies at St Christopher. The revenue produced by the farm was small, especially as the duty was remitted at St Christopher for two years, and both governor's salary and soldiers' pay was hope-

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., vi, 585, 600 (journal Assembly Nevis, 28 June and 6 July, 82). Wheler refers to the Assembly men as "ex-merchants," iii, 680.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Nevis refused Wheler a salary, C.S.P., iii, 775; cf. vii, 612 (quarrel at Antigua).

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 9764, fo. 3 (report of Commissioners to Danby *re* claims on  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., 23. 7. 77), 10119, fo. 166 b (estimate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., 1701). See also *Calendar Treasury Papers* and *Treasury Books*.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P., v, 1048 (Crispe's offer, 4. 7. 79); vi, 78 (Leeward Islands refuse to commute), 804 (G.A.L.I. ask for farm, 20. 10. 82), 1077, 1526 (S. C. asks for farm, 1. 2. 84), 2042 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 7. 1. 85). Stapleton asked for the revenue for one year in lieu of his arrears (v, 563) but did not get either.

lessly in arrears. The King twice gave grants for fortification in the islands, and thus the planters could hardly feel that their taxes were misappropriated, though the soldiers grumbled loudly that they did not see the colour of their money<sup>1</sup>.

Local revenue was raised both by an excise on imported wines and when necessary by a poll tax<sup>2</sup>. The money thus received was spent on the payment of governors, and of agents when necessary, on the compensation of owners of negroes executed by the law, on the purchase of arms, the payment of gunners and on the building of fortifications. Annual accounts were kept and carefully audited; but an attempt on the part of the Nevis Assembly to assert an independent control of expenditure was nipped in the bud<sup>3</sup>.

Voted that if his Excellency (runs the minute) should propose that any of the Council should be put into view and adjust the country's accounts, it is the whole consent of the Assembly that it is not their concern but belongs wholly to them.

The Council asserted that a joint control "hath been yearly practised since His Majesty's restauration," and the governor promptly dissolved the Assembly. A proclamation by Stapleton that the treasurer was to render accounts to the governor and Council who were "more concerned therein than the Assembly," settled the dispute<sup>4</sup>.

Neither Wheler nor Stapleton received the power to legislate

<sup>1</sup> Complaints about arrears; Stapleton's letters, *passim*. £500 was given for Cleverly's Fort in 1678 (v, 763) and £1500 to be divided among the four islands in 1680 (v, 1418).

<sup>2</sup> Mins. of the Councils and Printed Acts, *passim*. The liquor excise was sometimes farmed, *C.S.P.*, vi, 465; vii, 612.

<sup>3</sup> There are among the Stapleton MSS. copies of the public accounts of Montserrat for the years 1673, 1679, and 1680. No accounts of any of the islands exist in the Public Records Office.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 440, 465, 473 (journal Nevis Assembly, March-April, 82), 475 (proclamation by Stapleton). A quarrel as to whether the annual present should be voted to Stapleton was also mixed up with this dispute. "If comparison may be made from this small Assembly, with that great assembly in England, viz., the House of Commons, it was never known that the House in quiet or peaceable times assumed that power to themselves as to call any public officer to account for fines, forfeitures or any revenues received or disbursements made, but contrariwise left that always to His Majesty's royal pleasure of discretion." For the Treasurer see *C.S.P.*, iii, 775 and v, 1418 (Stapleton's proclamation).

by Order in Council which had been given to Willoughby, and all laws had to be made by the governor, Council and Assembly.

Bills sometimes originated in the Assembly, but the governor and Council frequently sent down suggestions for legislation. These early laws were seldom worded in any fixed style, and at times contained no sanction or machinery for their effective administration. It was thus not long before confusion and disputes arose, and the islands tried to revise and standardise their laws. In 1679 Antigua passed a general act of revision, repealing or altering some laws, and confirming the others: because "It might seem prodigious if the Laws of so small a Colony should swell into great Volumes<sup>1</sup>."

It was the duty of the Governor-in-Chief to send home all acts for royal confirmation, but this was done very irregularly. Wheler reported that the Book of Statutes was too large to send home, but that a joint committee of Council and Assembly would abridge them, and that after their re-enactment he would send the collection home<sup>2</sup>. Wheler passed a number of acts for Nevis, but they were never examined or confirmed by the King in Council<sup>3</sup>. The Lords of Trade, however, in accordance with their general policy, determined to enforce the King's right to review all colonial legislation<sup>4</sup>. Accordingly, when Stapleton reported in 1676 that the laws in force were many and too tedious to be mentioned, but that the more important had been sent home to the "former Honourable Committee," they replied by instructing him to send all laws in force, and to return regularly any further enactments<sup>5</sup>. To do this, however, meant time and money, and in 1678 when his brother Edmund returned to England, Stapleton was only able to send by him the acts of Nevis, and a few of St Christopher's<sup>6</sup>. The Lords again

<sup>1</sup> Acts Leeward Islands, I, p. 66 (15. 7. 79).

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P., III, 680 (Wheler's answers, 9. 12. 71).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, 1013. The date of the return of these acts is not certain.

<sup>4</sup> For this policy see E. B. Russell, *The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council* (Columbia University Studies, 1915). Cap. I treats of the period prior to 1690, but does not deal with the laws of the Leeward Islands.

<sup>5</sup> C.S.P., IV, 1152 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 22. 11. 76); v, 225, 404 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 10. 9. 77).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 741 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 29. 6. 78). *Ib.*, IV, 570, are the Nevis Acts brought by Edmund Stapleton.

demanding a complete set of acts, and Stapleton was forced to explain his difficulty.

I made two voyages to Antego and Montserrat for no other purpose than to effect that part of my duty, and to get the Acts, and found the Acts transcribing. I ordered them to be sent after me and they were promised, but I had to threaten to send some of the officers to Whitehall to answer for their neglect, or I should not even now have obeyed your orders.

In September 1681 Stapleton was able to send all the acts of the four islands by James Cottar, who was then returning to England<sup>1</sup>.

The acts brought home by Edmund Stapleton were not reviewed by the Lords of Trade until December 1678. "They have all lain before their Lordships, but by reason of this extraordinary conjuncture no leisure has yet been found for their perusal." When time was found to look at them, the Lords discovered that they had all expired, because over two years had elapsed since their enactment, without the royal confirmation<sup>2</sup>. The collection brought home by Cottar was reviewed with great care, and the earlier laws of Stapleton and Wheler promptly declared void for the same reason. The remainder were examined minutely, and the majority confirmed by Order in Council. The Act of Extent of Antigua was held up pending further information from Stapleton. The Lords of Trade laid down that in future no courtesy titles should be given to governors, but that the enacting style should run in the words of the King's commission: they also ordered that no private land acts, such as were common at Antigua, should be passed in future. They wished to secure a perpetual finance act, instead of the yearly acts for local levies, but this, as Stapleton knew, was quite impossible<sup>3</sup>. The rule that laws lapsed auto-

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv., 842 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 8. 12. 78). Some acts of Antigua were received in 1680 but the Lords demanded a complete set. *Ib.*, v, 1324, vi, 49, 188 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 7. 81 enclosing the acts), 233. The acts of Nevis sent by Edmund Stapleton were not sent again by Cottar.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 842 (8. 12. 78).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 258, 269, 300, 309, 388 (mins. L.T.P., Oct. 1681—Jan. 1682), 399 (report), 407 (order confirming acts, 8. 2. 82); cf. 396, 420, 471, 554, 970; vi, 429 (L.T.P.—Stapleton *re* style of acts, 5. 3. 82).

matically unless confirmed within two years had been found clumsy in practice, and so fresh instructions were issued to Stapleton, by which laws were to continue in force indefinitely, though the King's right to disallow them was also indefinite. This was later included in Johnson's commission<sup>1</sup>.

During the rest of Stapleton's governorship laws were sent home with regularity, and the question of the confirmation often led to sharp skirmishes between the merchants, and the planters' agents<sup>2</sup>. At times news of a fresh law came to the merchants' knowledge before the law actually arrived in England, and they were able to score the first point by petitioning against its terms before the Lords had even heard of its existence. The merchants' factors, and the agents of the Royal African Company kept their principals in close touch with local politics<sup>3</sup>. The eventual disallowance of the Antigua Act of Extent caused an amusing situation, for the local Assembly passed a second act, and refused to acknowledge that the first was void until the second had been confirmed. This was met by a very sharp letter from the Lords of Trade<sup>4</sup>. The influence of the merchants was so strong that they succeeded in their attack on a somewhat similar act of St Christopher, although Stapleton defended it. The severe handling to which their laws were subjected even made Antigua appoint one of its Councillors as a special agent to secure the confirmation of its laws<sup>5</sup>.

In their policy of review the Lords were naturally much influenced by the London merchants: but they took their duties seriously and would not proceed with business unless both

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1066 (instructions, 7. 5. 83). The King could disallow the law at any time providing he had not already confirmed it.

<sup>2</sup> Mins. of L.T.P., 1683-1685 *passim* (see *C.S.P.*, vi).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1333, 1353, 1359; vii, 301.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1478 (Order in Council disallowing first Act of Extent, 19. 12. 83). This act had been passed by William Lord Willoughby whose commission did not reserve to the King the right of disallowal, hence the Lords ordered the governor of Antigua to procure the repeal of the act, 1689 (mins. Council Antigua, 15. 5. 84). The local Assembly had already passed a new act, and had made their repeal of the old act dependent on the confirmation of the new, 1436 (mins. Council, 6. 12. 83). When this second act was sent home the Lords promptly disallowed it and censured the governor for not having repealed the former act according to instructions; *ib.*, vii, 166 (5. 5. 85).

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1333, 1478, 1535 (Stapleton—L.T.P., Feb. 84), 1557-8.

parties were represented<sup>1</sup>. They referred particular acts to special authorities for their report: the Act for Resettlement of St Christopher to Jenkins, with the question whether it transgressed the Treaty of Breda; the Law for Rating Coin to the Commissioners of the Treasury, while legal points were referred to the Law Officers of the Crown<sup>2</sup>. In reviewing the laws of the Leeward Islands, however, there was no attempt to force a body of law upon the planters, nor to dictate what acts were to be passed. The local Assemblies were left to their own discrimination in making laws, but such laws were subjected to a very critical review, before confirmation by Order in Council<sup>3</sup>.

The Leeward Islands differed from all the other plantations in that here only were four separate islands with separate Assemblies, permanently grouped under one governor. When the islands were divided from Barbados the system of separate Assemblies was still continued, and Wheler's commission authorised him to

call General Assemblies of the Freeholders and Planters within every of the respective islands under your government in manner and form according to the custom and usage of our other Plantations<sup>4</sup>.

Wheler had not been long in his new government before he realised the difficulty of dealing with the islands separately, and applied for permission to call a General Assembly elected from all the islands, to meet in one island: this suggestion, however, was never answered, and Wheler's fall drove the matter into the background<sup>5</sup>. Stapleton's commission gave him the same

<sup>1</sup> "Mr Barnes agent for the island of Antigua with others attending, their Lordships take notice that none of the merchants concerned on the other side were present and agree to examine this Act again when the merchants as well as the Planters shall be present, wherefore the following letter was sent to the African Company." *C.S.P.*, VII, 150 (Blathwayt—Merchants to L. I., 25. 4. 85).

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, VI, 385, 587, 760, 1874-6.

<sup>3</sup> The attempt to secure a perpetual finance act was not pushed. In two cases legislation was initiated from home, e.g. law against pirates, and law for extension of time to be served by transported malefactors. In both cases these suggested laws agreed with the natural interest of the planters.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 393 (Wheler's commission, 25. 1. 71).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 804 (an abstract of various In-letters from the L. I.). Wheler—Slingsby, 5. 12. 71, is now missing, the abstract runs: "he would have power to call a general Assembly of all the islands into any one island." Lord Willoughby, too, had only dealt with the separate island Assemblies.

powers as had been given to Wheler, but the development of plantation politics, and the need of obtaining the opinion of the four islands as a whole, forced him to call and make use of a General Assembly of all the islands. This Assembly at first was only a consultative body, empowered by the various island Councils and Assemblies to give answers in their name to the proposals of the King, but in time Stapleton made use of it for legislative purposes, and by the end of his government the General Assembly of the Leeward Islands was a definite institution recognised by the Lords of Trade and provided for in the commission issued to his successor.

There is some evidence that Stapleton called a General Assembly as early as 1674, for in that year was sent to the King a petition from the "representatives" of the islands, begging for adequate naval protection against the Dutch<sup>1</sup>. In 1678 when the Treaty of Neutrality was arranged at St Christopher, Stapleton summoned members of Council and Assembly from the various islands to meet him at Nevis, and it was doubtless at that meeting where it was finally arranged to send home official agents to solicit the confirmation of the treaty, and to divide the expenses so incurred among the islands<sup>2</sup>. No records of these early meetings were sent home to England, for the minutes of the General Assembly were entered in the journal of the Nevis Assembly, and that island did not return copies of its proceedings until 1680<sup>3</sup>. Another meeting was held in 1681, when the islands were called upon to reply to the King's offer that they should commute the 4½ per cent. duty for some other form of taxation. Two members of the Council, and the Speaker and one other member of the Assembly of each island met in April at Nevis, and after due deliberation refused the offer, though

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, III, 1257 (received, 26. 3. 74). Though the petition is headed "Petition of the Representatives of the islands of St Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua," it is not signed by any representative of Antigua.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 729, 732. Stapleton stated that he negotiated the treaty "with the advice not only of seven of my Council, but att the earnest request of the Respective Councils and assemblies or Representatives as may appear by their several petitions." *Ib.* 741.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem that no minutes were kept until the General Assembly became a legislative body, e.g. there are no minutes of the General Assembly of 1681 in the Nevis Assembly journal.

the representatives of Montserrat were ready to accept the alteration<sup>1</sup>.

The first use of the General Assembly as a legislative body was due to the increased activity of the Lords of Trade in reviewing colonial legislation. When sending back the acts of the four islands by Col. Cottar in 1681, Stapleton made a proposal to standardise them.

One thing more I offer to your Lordship's consideration to have all the Acts for the Leeward Islands to be alike, there being no difference in nature or constitution....Acts in my slender judgement, should be the same in the same government<sup>2</sup>.

This suggestion suited the ideas of the Lords of Trade, who had recently tried to force a complete body of law upon the Jamaican Assembly, and they therefore instructed Stapleton to carry out his plan, "at the meeting of the respective Assemblies<sup>3</sup>." Stapleton, however, knew the humour of the local Assemblies, where he had already met with a rebuff in attempting to obtain a perpetual finance act, and proposed to try what he could do in a General Assembly.

In order to the passing the Acts alike in the respective islands I shall God willing meet a general assembly of two or three of the Council and of the like number of the representatives of each island here or at Antego in November next....I have had already a denial of any perpetual pecuniary law, for the people loves to be courted and to have a precarious government, their reason is for fear of having any impositions begged, but I shall not fail to propose it in the general assembly<sup>4</sup>.

Thus Stapleton appealed from an island to the General Assembly; next year he was to try to force through an island Assembly what had been already refused by its representatives at the General Assembly.

The General Assembly, consisting of two representatives from each of the island Councils and Assemblies, met in November

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., VI, 2072 (journal Nevis Assembly, 13. 4. 81), 78 (reply of General Assembly, 15. 4. 81).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 188 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 26. 7. 81).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 258 (mins. L.T.P., 16. 10. 81), 429 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 5. 3. 82).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 576 (journal Nevis Assembly, 21. 6. 82), 674 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 16. 8. 82).



1682, at Nevis, and was summoned by a wide interpretation of his commission, for Stapleton was never a man to stick at trifles when he had a practical object in view. The first business before the Assembly was the consideration of the letter from the Lords of Trade, which stated that "where a continual and certain expense is necessary to be provided for, the same ought to be done by perpetual laws," and demanded a permanent revenue act. This, however, was promptly refused: "We pray it may continue as formerly." Stapleton then proceeded to a series of proposals of his own, which he considered should be adopted as law for all the islands. The Assembly agreed to prohibit the transportation of any of the King's subjects to any foreign plantation, and to forbid the selling to foreigners of any "servants, negroes or other slaves, or utensils for the making of any of the growth of this country." It was also decided that authentic copies of records should be accepted in the various island courts, and that wills and other legal documents should be duly registered within a given time; but as soon as the proposals began to touch the pockets of the planters nothing could be done. A salary for an agent was refused, and the proposal to offer a commutation for the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was met by a reference to the answer of the previous year. A suggestion to provide a fund for moving a force to any island threatened with invasion, was answered: "We do not comprehend how to effect so difficult and chargeable a matter." The Act of Nevis confirming the titles of all planters who had held their land for the past five years, was only extended to the other islands on the condition that Antigua was excepted, while a definite attempt to regulate and encourage the building of forts was answered with the resolution, "that it be left to each island according as their ability will enable them." Even a proposal to standardise the gauge of the sugar cask and so prevent frauds was refused by the Assembly although it had the backing of the Council. Lastly a proposal for a joint expedition against the Indians was successfully carried with the proviso that Stapleton should himself lead the fleet. This meeting of the Assembly was thus only a qualified success for Stapleton's policy: the system of records had been improved but the governor's plans for securing

the defence of the islands and their common representation at home had proved a failure<sup>1</sup>.

The refusal of the perpetual finance act by the Assembly of Nevis had rankled in the minds of the Lords of Trade, and they still hoped that a General Assembly might grant such an act.

We cannot but think it very strange that the several Assemblies of those islands should pretend any mistrust of the government, as if those taxes and impositions which should be established for the constant support thereof might be otherwise diverted....But it is nevertheless to be expected that the General Assembly of all the islands will be better advised, and commend themselves thereby to His Majesty's favour and good opinion<sup>2</sup>.

Stapleton, who had now been refused by the General Assembly also, realised that this plan could never succeed, but he still clung to the hope of establishing one system of laws throughout his government. In the autumn of 1683 he again summoned a General Assembly which met at Nevis towards the end of October. Three members from each Council and Assembly attended, and to this body Stapleton made his definite proposal and received a no less definite answer.

I do desire that all laws be alike in the respective islands that His Majesty's subjects in one island may not be to seek for new measures in proceedings in the other islands, we being under one government, and the like constitutions and circumstances. Answer. That we have diligently considered His Excellency's first proposition concerning all the islands to be governed by General Acts which we conceive will not stand with the advantage and profit of the islands, by reason of the several Acts made in each island somewhat different from the other, so that we humbly pray that His Excellency would be pleased to accept of the Acts as they are made in each island and that the same be sent home by His Excellency....

This spirit of particularism manifested itself in opposition to other proposals. The Assembly refused to review the acts of the last General Assembly, and directed that they should be merely redrafted in accordance with new regulations for the wording of all laws. A proposal to fix a standard thickness for

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 790 (Journal Nevis Assembly, 15. 11. 82). Before separating, the General Assembly petitioned for a grant of the 4½ per cent. for fort-building, 804 (15. 11. 82).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi, 1078 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 25. 3. 83).

boards imported from New England was also refused by the Assembly, although strongly supported by the Council. It was agreed, however, to allow creditors to charge 10 per cent. on all overdue accounts contracted after the date of this act, and arrangements were also made for settling the accounts of the Treaty of Neutrality, and the Indian expedition. At a second meeting Stapleton, in a formal letter, proposed to keep a standing patrol to watch the Indians, but though this was passed by a majority of the Assembly, it was thrown out by the Council, and a subsequent appeal against this decision to the local Assembly of Antigua came to nothing. The rest of the business was of minor importance, but a gift of 120,000 lbs. of sugar was voted to Stapleton "for the care paines and charges in the Indian voyage," of which Nevis and Antigua were to pay one-third each, and the other two islands the remainder<sup>1</sup>.

The meetings of these General Assemblies were not popular among the planters, though they were necessary as a means of dealing with the islands as a whole, and arranging for any common action. But the narrow outlook of each island made common action distasteful: it was only the representatives of St Christopher, the island which lay most exposed to the French, who protested against the refusal to provide for transports in case of emergency, while Nevis had previously refused help to Antigua against the Indians, because it considered itself safe from attack. So, too, the islands would not appoint a common agent, though each was quite ready to send a paid agent of its own, when any special favour was wanted from the home authorities. This parochialism was always a difficulty in Stapleton's administration, and his attempts to overcome it by means of the General Assembly were not successful. The attitude of individual islands is well expressed in the first article of the instructions given by the Council and Assembly of St Christopher to their representatives at the General Assembly of 1683.

That we may be excused from General Assemblies and from the laws enacted by the authority thereof and that we may be governed

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1340, 1354 (Journal Assembly Nevis, 30th Oct. and 3rd Nov. 1683). This was the same proportion in which the islands were rated for the Indian expedition.

by those laws made by His Excellency, the Council and Assembly here we being frequently obliged by reason of the different constitution of this His Majesty's collony from the rest to make laws that may answer those of our neighbours for the maintaining a good correspondence with them<sup>1</sup>.

Stapleton's legal power to summon General Assemblies was never called into question, and the laws so made were duly examined and confirmed; but in the next governor's commission the clause dealing with the calling of Assemblies was redrafted and made quite clear. Nathaniel Johnson was given power,

to call Assemblies of the Freeholders and Planters joyntly or severally within any of the islands under your government according to the custom and usage of our said islands...(the persons so elected) shall be called and held the Assembly of that island or Plantation wherein they shall be chosen or of the said islands in general<sup>2</sup>.

Johnson, however, never made use of this permission, but his successors, the Codringtons, frequently called General Assemblies, though the practice fell into disuse early in the eighteenth century.

From the earliest days of colonisation it was recognised that the plantation needed a sponsor at home, who would push its interests and answer the various questions which the government continually asked. Royal governors needed such correspondents, no less than the proprietary colonies, for their actions were always liable to be misconstrued, and a business-like agent could save them a lot of trouble. Although the colonial agencies were hardly organised on a permanent basis until the eighteenth century, they became quite early a recognised part of the administrative system<sup>3</sup>. The post of agent was usually sought after eagerly by London merchants who had an interest in the plantation, for besides the influence they gained by the possession of such a post, the agent generally received a useful

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1291 (mins. Council S. C., 2. 10. 83).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 858 (Johnson's commission, 12. 9. 86). Attempts were made to revive the General Assembly in the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See E. P. Tanner, "Colonial Agencies in England during the Eighteenth Century" (*Political Science Quarterly*, xvi, 24-49, 1901). The introduction to this article seems hardly to recognise the part played by the early agents of the seventeenth century.

gratuity. The first permanent agents were generally the correspondents of the respective governors: agents for the colonial Assembly or the colony as a whole were only appointed at first for particular purposes or to go home on special missions. Thomas Povey, who was a most business-like administrator in colonial affairs, understood very well the usefulness of such regular agents, and endeavoured to obtain for himself the office of agent to various colonies. Before the Restoration he had already offered to act for the governor of Virginia; in 1659 he obtained the post of agent to Governor Searle of Barbados<sup>1</sup>. After the Restoration he ingratiated himself with Lord Windsor, the new governor of Jamaica,

and I suppose when hee goes awaie hee will leave me his principall correspondent, and that the affairs of Jamaica will from time to time [be] transacted here by me as instructed by his Lordship and ye Island<sup>2</sup>.

So, too, Povey's assistance to Lord Willoughby in establishing his authority over the Caribbees was probably due largely to his hopes of becoming Willoughby's agent. Although the second Lord Willoughby employed Champante as his agent, Povey kept in close touch with him, and in 1673 wrote him an important letter, in which he laid down carefully the duties of an agent, and the type of man that should be employed in such a post.

I do in the first place laie it down for a ground, that whosoever shall be engaged in such a distant government as your Lordship now is, ought before he adventures upon it, to secure to himself as many as he can of the Principall Ministers near the king, and as many of the Principall persons whose Trade and busynesse relate to that place; who may represent things here to the best advantage, and be readie to encounter that Envie and Malice and Misreport Mistakes which does most certainly persecute foreigne employments, especially when a populace is concerned in them, nor will it be enough to bespeake the Favour and Goodwill of men in Power, unless some fit person be selected to make due and seasonable applications, and to awaken and stir up and bring to fruition that kindness and adherence which will be in many fruitless if not minded and solicited and applyed to the occasion to which their interposition is necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11,411, pp. 19-20, 90-94 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 33-34.

The agent's duty is to stand "sentry" and give the alarm when assistance is needed. The agent should have copies of commissions, instructions, and of all important letters filed for reference: he should have access to two or three friends at court and in the city, who should advise with him when necessary. He should also be recommended to the good offices of those ministers whom he will have to address. He should receive his letters first, before news gets to the King's ministers, or on change, to the obvious prejudice of his principal. He should know the names and politics of the different members of the local Council, and who are their agents in England, and "who is the Speaker of the assemblie, and who the most popular and troublesome on the island." He should know how the local finances are administered, for money is the chief cause of complaint. Finally, Povey explains, it may be

convenient if not most necessary, that such a person be created, established and encouraged, by your Lpp and perhaps the Island alsoe; your Lpp's inclinations, and resolutions (as you have declared them to me) being to have but one interest with the place, and to effect a mutual satisfaction, as far as it may be agreeable to your Trust and the service of His Majesty<sup>1</sup>.

This detailed picture of the functions and duties of a colonial agent shows the importance attached by Povey, a man of wide experience, to this office. It was not always easy for a governor to select a suitable agent, for the governor in the plantations and his agent in London had frequently very different opinions on matters of colonial policy. The merchant who acted as governor's agent had few interests in common with the planters, and so it was but seldom that the local Assembly could be persuaded to adopt him as their nominee and vote an allowance. During his governorship Stapleton was represented in turn by three agents. The first was Ferdinando Gorges, a Barbados planter, who had settled as a merchant in London: he had claims to Maine which he sold in 1677 to Massachusetts, much to the King's anger. Gorges acted as Stapleton's agent until as late

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2395, fo. 487-9 (Povey—Willoughby, 15. 3. 73). The whole letter is very interesting. In the last sentence quoted it will be seen that Willoughby's policy was to have the local Assembly represented at home by his agent, and not by a separate man.

as May 1677, though for the last two years he had others associated with him. Through Gorges Stapleton forwarded his various petitions and papers, and he was in regular attendance upon the Lords of Trade whenever Leeward Island business was discussed, especially during 1676 when the question of the arrears of pay and general state of the companies on St Christopher was being considered<sup>1</sup>. An agent's duties were far from a sinecure, and even when it had been decided to pay the arrears no money could be found.

There was now by the late disorder among the Bankers, so general a distrust, that it was in vain to expect any money on credit, Captain Gorges was himself pressed to furnish the money, but he excused himself as not in a present condition<sup>2</sup>.

Gorges, however, soon ceased to act as agent. He had many other interests, being a wealthy Barbados planter, and had been largely responsible for the organised fight put up by the Gentlemen Planters of Barbados against the proposed sugar taxes of 1671. It was considered that he did not push the interests of the Leeward Islands sufficiently, and he was replaced.

His successor, William Freeman, was the son of a St Christopher planter who lost a plantation on the island, and spent most of his life in a hopeless attempt to regain possession from the Frenchman. The younger Freeman became a London merchant, and though he also owned land at Montserrat, his interests as a merchant predominated, and he soon became one of the keenest opponents of the planter policy. For some time he had acted with Gorges, and from 1678 he was Stapleton's sole agent<sup>3</sup>. In 1682, however, he opposed several of the laws which had been sent home, and secured the annulling of two of them<sup>4</sup>. His final breach with Stapleton was due to a quarrel about a plantation at Montserrat which Stapleton had ordered to be divided between Freeman and his partner. In his

<sup>1</sup> See journals of L.T.P., and Stapleton's letters, *passim*. E.g., *C.S.P.*, iv, 1201, 1297, 1360, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, iv, 757 (mins. L.T.P., 23. 12. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Acting with Gorges in 1676-7, journals L.T.P., *passim*. From 1678 he is sole agent (*C.S.P.*, v, 636). Gorges' petition seems to be misdated in the *Calendar*: it should be earlier.

<sup>4</sup> For Freeman's action against the island laws see *C.S.P.*, vi, 784, 799, 1333, 1353, 1359, etc.

attempts to secure the reversal of this order Freeman was quite ready to drop innuendos about Stapleton's readiness to favour the local planter at the expense of the merchant, and these suggestions were quite enough to inflame the governor's temper.

Since the writing of this letter I have yours to Charles Matthews wherein I find your intolerable abuses in taxing me with lies and injustice. Were I near you I would dash your teeth and words down your throat, forbear at so great a distance, else I do not question to have those there that will correct your insolence and ingratitude. Your caballing to draw articles with others I mind not; do your worse; you and they will be the first that will repent their actings against me, for I never yet gave any just cause of complaint to any.

Freeman showed this somewhat vigorous letter to the Lords of Trade, but when they offered to send it to Stapleton for his remarks, the offer was declined<sup>1</sup>.

Stapleton now appointed his new agent, an Irishman named Patrick Trant, as attorney in the dispute with Freeman, but he was far from satisfactory.

I cannot understand by Esquire Trant and Mr Blaithwait, that the Lords of the Committee (wrote Jeaffreson) have beene ever moved for recruits for the companies. So that will be new to them. For Esquire Trante tells me he never received any letters from Sir William Stapleton to that effect. He asked me if we did not want money for the fort, whiche I looked upon as a flourish; the commodity being very scarce at court, as well as in the cittie...<sup>2</sup>.

But Trant was also a dishonest man, and he embezzled a large sum of money belonging to Stapleton; fortunately news of this reached Stapleton at Paris just before his death and he was enabled to delete Trant's name as an executor from his will<sup>3</sup>.

Besides these permanent agents who acted for the governor direct, the various islands at times appointed their own agents

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi, 1523 (Stapleton—Freeman, Feb. 1684); cf. 976, 1276, 1359, 1377-9, 1380, 1710, 1725-6.

<sup>2</sup> Jeaff. MSS., 1, 326 (C. J.—Pogson, 14. 11. 82). Trant appointed attorney against Freeman, *C.S.P.*, vi, 1710, 1725-6.

<sup>3</sup> Stapleton's will dated 1. 4. 86, codicil, 5. 7. 86. Jeaff. MSS., 11, 315 (C. J.—Phipps, 8. 9. 86). Lady Stapleton sued Trant for £6000, and obtained a judgment against him. *P.C. Cal.*, 11, 108. Stapleton MSS. (many papers connected with this law-suit). Andros, an old comrade of Stapleton's, the famous governor of New England, was another executor removed by the codicil.



in England, or sent members of their Councils as special envoys to solicit some definite favour which they required. It was naturally to the governor's advantage that the islands should be represented by his own agent, and this was the policy adopted by Stapleton. He was not always successful, for the island Assemblies objected to paying a regular agent, and were only willing to put their hands in their pockets when they thought to see some definite return for their money. For a year at least Gorges was the accredited agent for the islands, and received pay from St Christopher, and probably also from the other islands.

The Governor was pleased to discourse with me something concerning Captain George (wrote Jeaffreson in 1676), whom the island did employ to act for them at home, and allowed him two or three hundred pounds per annum; for which he did little; and when they ordered him to petition for a frigate or two, to be sent hither for the security of the islands and their trade, without which the inhabitants cannot live, he sent them this answer,—that in times of peace they had no occasion for such a security, and in times of war his Majesty had so much to do with his ships, that he could not spare one. So it is thought they have withdrawn their allowance to Captain George<sup>1</sup>.

Jeaffreson at once saw the chance of obtaining the post for his father-in-law, Colonel Gamiel, a London merchant who had already helped in Leeward Island business. In 1679, by dint of constantly singing his relative's praise, and emphasising "how necessary it is that the affaires of this island should be put into the hands of some particular friende at home," Jeaffreson persuaded the local Assembly to promise £100 per annum to Gamiel as their agent. Stapleton was asked by Deputy-Governor Matthews to give "leave to employ a friend to take care of the affaires of this island in particular." Stapleton was at first opposed to the scheme, wishing the island to be represented by his new agent Freeman, but after a second request he gave way, and a formal invitation was sent to Gamiel from the Council and Assembly of the island. Backstairs influence, however, was quickly at work, and such an unfriendly account of Gamiel was

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., 1, 194 (C. J.—Gamiel, 23. 6. 76), *C.S.P.*, 111, 1257 (petition, March 74). The Island Representatives refer to "our agent." 1360 (petition of Gorges, 15. 10. 74). This is probably the petition referred to by Jeaffreson.

given to Stapleton, that the new agent resigned his post. The intrigues against Gamiel proceeded

originally from the ill-offices done you by somebody, who is so jealous of the interest he has in the General, that he is ready to fling dirt upon such as are like to overtake him in the advantages of these American employments.

Thus St Christopher remained for a long time without a permanent agent, for the island would not appoint Freeman<sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile various special missions had been sent to England for different purposes. Lieutenant Greatbach had gone home in 1675 with the muster rolls of the two companies to plead for their pay: though the money was ordered, Greatbach died while waiting for it, and his death caused yet further delay. The same year Stapleton's brother Edmund, the deputy-governor of Montserrat, had gone to England for his health: he attended the Lords of Trade frequently in 1676 to urge on the business of the islands and solicit for his brother's pay<sup>2</sup>. Neither of these were agents sent home by the islands, but the negotiations for a Treaty of Neutrality in 1678 called for the employment of an official agent. It had been arranged with the French that one Englishman and one Frenchman should take the treaty home and try to obtain its confirmation. Joseph Crispe, of the Council of St Christopher, was sent on this duty, and although his mission was unsuccessful, he was complimented by the Lords of Trade on his "care and diligence." Crispe was chosen agent for all the islands, for this special purpose, and was probably paid by them jointly. It was while in London on this duty that he made an offer on behalf of the Leeward Islands to farm the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but this came to nothing<sup>3</sup>. Some years later Crispe was employed as special agent by Nevis to present an address to James II. At this time another Leeward planter, Colonel

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., I, 252 (C. J.—Gamiel, 24. 7. 80). An obvious reference to Freeman. For this intrigue see Jeaff. MSS., I, 238-40, 241-2, 243, 251-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 467. Edmund Stapleton returned to Leeward Islands in Nov. 1677, and died soon after. See also journals L.T.P., 1676, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P., v, 741 (Stapleton—L.T.P., 29. 6. 78), 1279 (L.T.P.—Stapleton, 23. 1. 80). Crispe was probably chosen at a meeting of the General Assembly. See above p. 229. Later Jory was employed on a similar mission and paid by the islands jointly. C.S.P., vi, 473 (Journal Nevis Assembly, 13. 4. 82). Offer for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., see *ib.*, v, 1048 (mins. L.T.P., 4. 7. 79).

Nethway, happened to be in London, and assisted in the presentation of the address. He promptly made this an excuse to demand his expenses, but the Nevis Assembly demurred, and finally compromised the matter: "We desire that he may be presented with twenty guineas out of the public stock to buy him a gelden and to be no further concerned with public business<sup>1</sup>." Meanwhile the action of the Lords of Trade in their stringent review of the island laws, had alarmed Antigua whose enactments were chiefly open to criticism. The planters were particularly anxious to obtain the confirmation of certain private acts, and so appointed one of their Council, Major Barnes, to sail for England as their agent. They promised him a salary of £100 per annum<sup>2</sup>.

All these agents were only temporary, and appointed for a special purpose. They were planters, sent home to England on a special mission, and they returned to the islands when their object was attained. The islands had employed no permanent agent since their experiment with Gorges, and Stapleton's attempt to obtain Freeman's appointment had failed. It was, however, part of his policy to have an agent at home representing the whole of the Colony, and in 1682 he proposed this at the General Assembly, but the planters promptly refused to vote a salary. The chief difficulty in the selection of an agent was to find a resident in London who saw matters from the planters' point of view, and would push their interest. A simple merchant was useless as an agent; while even an absentee planter who was becoming a trader was apt to develop the merchant's point of view alarmingly soon. Hence the islands preferred to send a planter representative over to England whenever they had any special business to transact. St Christopher, however, made an exception in the case of Jeaffreson. Since his return to England he had busied himself ceaselessly in the affairs of the island, pushing its interests at every opportunity and pressing to secure a supply of malefactors as labourers. In 1684 the island appointed him its agent, and gave him a gratuity of £50, which he

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., VI, 1825 (Journal Nevis Assembly, 4. 8. 84).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VI, 1557, 1558 (Antigua—Stapleton, 27. 2. 84); VII, 612 (mins. Council Antigua, 26. 3. 86).

promptly declared that he would spend in the interests of the island<sup>1</sup>. Jeaffreson was honestly pleased at his appointment, although there is no evidence that he received any further pay from the Assembly, and his expenses in the way of fees and douceurs were enormous. Besides the expenses he incurred in obtaining the malefactors, Jeaffreson was continually out of pocket for various official charges.

The first petition was lost; the second I preferred was read, and by order referred to the Lords of the Committee. This order cost some two-and-fifty shillings and sixpence, before I could get it to Sir Phillip Lloyd's clerk; and it produced nothing but another reference to the Lord of Dartmouth. I made my application twice or thrice to his Lordship, who told me, if we could find the money he would find all we wanted. I was no stranger to such rubs<sup>2</sup>.

Even Blathwayt's interest was best stimulated by the jingle of coin. "Without a gratification of twenty or thirty guynnies to himself at the least," wrote Jeaffreson to Hill, "I doubt much the effect of the letters or anything else<sup>3</sup>."

All the island agents were at this time appointed, merely by a resolution of the Assembly, agreed to by governor and Council: their pay was provided from the public funds in a similar way. The appointment for each island had to be confirmed by the Governor-in-Chief. It was only later that agents were authorised and their salaries provided by definite local acts.

The governorship of Sir William Stapleton saw great changes and developments in the Leeward Islands. When he was appointed they were almost prostrate after their war with the French, and the very policy of maintaining a separate government was called in question. When he left the West Indies the islands were fully re-established, their trade was flourishing, and despite the French neglect to carry out the Treaty of Breda there was hardly a Frenchman left in the English quarters of St Christopher. Stapleton's administration had proved such a great success that the policy of a separate government has survived to this day, long after the original arguments for the

<sup>1</sup> Jeaff. MSS., II, 119-120 (C. J.—Hill and Council S.C., 25. 8. 84); cf. *C.S.P.*, VI, 1526, 1535.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 29 (C. J.—Phipps, 1. 2. 83).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, 59 (C. J.—Hill, 16. 5. 83); cf. 112.

separation have any force. In 1672 the labour problem was acute, owing to the losses in the French war, and to the failure of a regular supply: in 1686 the islands had received nearly as many slaves as they could employ, more indeed than they could pay for. The islands had come to depend almost entirely on the staple crop of sugar, and the secondary crops had nearly disappeared. The planters had a firmly established system of local government with elective Assemblies which showed themselves as jealous of their rights and privileges as any colonial Assemblies that remembered they were Englishmen. In addition Stapleton had organised, despite keen local opposition, a General Assembly to legislate for the islands as a whole, and to deal with all matters which needed a common vote: he had tried in vain to secure common representation before the home authorities. Despite continual threats of war and, at times, deliberate insult, he had maintained friendly relations with his French neighbours, and by his negotiation of the Treaty of Neutrality had pointed, though in vain, the way to a new era of colonial development. Thus in 1688 the Leeward Islands stood at the parting of the ways. They were then a group of islands where Europeans actually lived and farmed their lands, though helped by a growing number of slaves; they were soon to become a tropical plantation where vast lands were owned by a few absentees, and worked by slave-gangs under overseers. In 1688 they were wealthy islands, enjoying a very real amount of independence and local government, to-day they are a crown colony that can scarce pay its way. The story of this change is the story of slave-grown sugar, and the French competition of the eighteenth century.

## NOTE A

### THE EARLY ACTS OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

The records of the early legislation of the Leeward Islands are in some confusion, and the *Calendars* are by no means an infallible guide.

(1) *The printed Acts* of the islands (see Bibliography), only include those in force at the date of printing, with the titles of those which have lapsed, but these collections do not contain the titles of all old laws.

(2) *The Acts brought back by Edmund Stapleton in 1678* exist in C.O. 154/2, pp. 89-140 (Nevis Acts all passed on 26. 5. 75; evidently a codification); while C.O. 154/1, pp. 95-97, are probably the corresponding Acts of St Christopher (three Acts of 1672 passed by Wheler).

(3) *The series brought by Cottar* are C.O. 154/2, pp. 73-88 (12 Acts Nevis 1680-2); 1-26 (22 of St Christopher 1672-1681); 255-358 (57 of Antigua 1668-1680); and 169-254 (23 of Montserrat 1668-1680).

(4) *Acts sent home at an earlier date* ("to the former Honourable Committee") are probably those bound in C.O. 154/1, though there is no endorsement to show when they were returned to England.

(5) *Acts after 1681*; some in C.O. 154/2, but many seem to have disappeared, although reference is made to them in the minutes of the local Councils and of the Lords of Trade. There are among the Stapleton MSS. a number of Acts of 1683, which do not seem represented in the Public Record Office.

(6) *The early Acts of the General Assembly* seem also to have disappeared except the two in C.O. 154/2, 141-143 (20. 11. 82).

## NOTE B

### THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE COUNCILS AND ASSEMBLIES

The regular return of a copy of all proceedings was ordered by the Lords of Trade in 1680. Of those sent the following are preserved in the Public Record Office.

(1) *Assembly Journals*. *Nevis*, May 1680—May 1686, C.O. 1/44, 65; 1/45, 78; 1/48, 23, 79; 1/49, 83; 1/53, 4; 1/57, 40; 1/58, 43. Later journals are bound together in C.O. 153/3. The minutes of the General Assemblies of 1682 and 1683 are included in the *Nevis* journals because they met at Nevis. No other island returned Assembly journals at this time.

#### (2) *Council Minutes*.

(a) *Nevis*, 1672-1681, C.O. 1/28, 60. Apparently no further minutes were returned until 1685, from which year an irregular series exists in C.O. 153/3.

(b) *St Christopher*, 1672-1681, C.O. 1/28, 69; 1683-1684, C.O. 1/51, 98; 1684-1686, C.O. 1/57, 48. Later minutes in C.O. 153/3.

(c) *Antigua*, 1670-1679, C.O. 1/25, 55; 1682-1684, C.O. 1/49, 81; 1685-1686, C.O. 1/59, 49. These minutes, however, do not contain an account of all meetings, as is proved by comparing them with the original Council Book (Oliver, *History of Antigua*, I, p. xlv). There are minutes for 1680 and 1681 among the Stapleton MSS.

(d) *Montserrat* returned no minutes at all.

## APPENDIX I

### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The main sources for the history of the Leeward Islands in the seventeenth century are the papers preserved in the Public Record Office, but there are also contemporary writings of importance, and other MSS. collections which throw light on the period. In the following Bibliography I have made no attempt to compile a complete list of all existing material, but have collected the more important authorities and those which I have found useful.

#### I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

DE DAMPIERRE, JACQUES. "Essai sur les sources de l'histoire des Antilles Françaises (1492-1664)." (Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'école des chartes, vi. Paris, 1904.)

A reasoned bibliography of all the more important sources for the early history of the French West Indies. Included in this category are a number of English authorities.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. "List of works relating to the West Indies...." (New York, 1912.)

CUNDALL, F. (1) "Bibliographia Jamaicensis." (1902.)

(2) "Bibliographia Jamaicensis Supplement." (1908.)

(3) "Bibliography of the West Indies (excluding Jamaica)." (1909.)

All published by the Institute of Jamaica at Kingston, Jamaica. The publications are arranged in chronological order, and in the Bibliography of the West Indies the chronological lists are compiled under geographical headings.

ROTH, H. L. "A Guide to the Literature of Sugar." (London, 1890.)

Chiefly concerned with the growth and manufacture of sugar; otherwise of little use.

#### II. CALENDARS AND GUIDES

*Calendar of State Papers.* Colonial Series (America and West Indies).

The first seven volumes of this series cover the period under review.

*Calendar of State Papers.* Domestic, Charles II.

Of minor importance for Colonial history.

*Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. I, *et seq.*

*Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. I (1599-1696).

These Calendars are important for the study of the farming of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty.

*Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Colonial Series. Vol. I, 1613-1680; vol. II, 1680-1720.

These Calendars record the Colonial activities of the Privy Council, and throw light on the relations between the various Councils and Committees for Plantations, and the Privy Council itself.

ANDREWS, C. M. "Guide to the materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain," 2 vols. (Washington, 1912-14.)

ANDREWS, C. M., and DAVENPORT, F. G. "Guide to the manuscript materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge." (Washington, 1908.)

OLIVER, V. L. "A History of Antigua," 3 vols., limited edition. (London 1890, 1895, 1899.)

This work is preceded by a short historical introduction arranged in strictly chronological order: the introduction consists almost entirely of reproductions of documents. The book itself is a genealogical record of the families connected with Antigua. Précis of all important wills are printed, with their reference number.

FIRTH, C. H., and LOMAS, S. C. "Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688." (Oxford, 1906.)

This contains, besides lists of ambassadors, references to MSS. and printed books where letters, instructions, etc. are to be found.

SOUTHEY, T. "Chronological History of the West Indies." 3 vols. (London, 1827.)

A "register of events relating to the West Indies," arranged in chronological order. Though frequently inaccurate, it is sometimes useful for the references: a certain number of extracts from various writers are reprinted verbatim.

*Historical MSS. Commission Reports*. There is little in these volumes of importance for this period.

### III. MSS.

#### (a) IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

*Colonial Papers* (Calendared), consist of in-letters, out-letters, and the various reports and other documents which belonged to the various Councils and Committees of Plantations and to other officials.



*Colonial Entry Books* (Calendared), are either actual "entry" books, or loose papers which have been bound together.

*Papers of the Royal African Company*. See above, note on p. 180.

*Log of H.M.S. Deptford* (Admiralty, Captains' Logs 289). The log of the two voyages of the Deptford to the Leeward Islands, 1678-1682. Important as giving Billop's account of his quarrel with Stapleton.

*Trade Statistics*. Besides the Trade Statistics mentioned in the Colonial Calendars, a few papers will be found in C.O. 157/1, 388/2 and 390/6. See above, pp. 205-207.

*Treasury Books and Papers*. See above, under Calendars.

*Remonstrance of Antiguans*. (Board of Trade, C.O. 10/3.) A document giving the islanders' account of the French capture of Antigua in 1666. Deposited by the Society of Friends in 1909. (Reprinted, *Caribbeana* II, p. 108.)

#### (b) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Egerton 2395. The papers of Thomas Povey contain a number of drafts of letters, etc., both before and after the Restoration. Invaluable for the early history of St Christopher, and as a supplement to the Colonial Papers.

Add. MSS. 11411. One of Povey's out-letter books, 1655-1661. The letters throw much light on the politics of Barbados and its relations with the home authorities in the period just preceding the Restoration.

Sloane 3662, fo. 62. Major Scott's account of Barbados.

— 2292. Ruttier of a voyage from the Canaries to the West Indies.

— 978. A small note-book kept by a merchant trading in Antigua in 1680, with rough lists of sugar and tobacco shipped at the different creeks, and a list of customers' names.

Add. MSS. 11409. Papers about the question of St Christopher; chiefly duplicates of those in the Colonial Calendar.

— 10119, fo. 119 b; 9764, fo. 3. 4½ per cent. duty.

Sloane 1519, fo. 241-2. Willoughby's protest against the French refusal to restore St Christopher (2. 5. 68).

#### (c) BODLEIAN LIBRARY

Clarendon MSS. Vols. 72, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85. A few papers about West Indian affairs, chiefly letters to Clarendon from the Willoughbys.

Rawlinson MSS. 'A' 29, fo. 372-409; 40, fo. 361, 427; 60, fo. 131 (Thurloe Papers). A few papers dealing with Antigua and the accounts of the Leeward Islands.

— 'A' 272, fo. 307. Meeting of Council of Barbados, 4th July, 1680.

— 'A' 478 (William Bridgeman's Papers), fo. 148. Note as to Stapleton's new commission in 1683.

— 'A' 478, fo. 63. "The State of the Case of the Sugar Plantations in America"; a printed broadside against the proposed taxes of 1670-1.

— 'A' 478, fo. 88. "The late Act of Navigation and its effect on the Sugar Plantation": an incomplete MS. attack on the enumeration clause of the Act of 1660.

— 'A' 173 and 175 (Pepys papers). A collection made by Pepys to expose the bad character of his enemy Scott. 'A' 175, fo. 149-157, court martial on Scott for cowardice at the English attack on St Christopher. Copies of these papers in "Mornomont" volumes (2): Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

(d) ELSEWHERE

Stapleton MSS. I was enabled by the courtesy of Sir Miles Stapleton to see the MSS. preserved at Grey's Court, Henley. Those that related to the period under review were in many cases duplicates of documents in the Public Record Office. The new material included Stapleton's commission as vice-admiral, accounts of Montserrat for 1672-4 and 1678-80, Acts of the various islands of 1683, some minutes of the Antigua Council, and a number of papers connected with the various lawsuits in which Stapleton's widow was involved.

Jeaffreson MSS. By the courtesy of Mrs A. E. Jeaffreson I was permitted to inspect the original letter-book of Christopher Jeaffreson. In many cases the published précis omits important information contained in the letters about the details of sugar manufacture, market prices, etc. The letter-book is of first-rate importance as throwing light both on the condition of St Christopher, and on the difficulties of a colonial agent in England (see later, "Young Squire of Seventeenth Century").

Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. G. 4, 15 contains papers relating to Barbados and a copy of the patent of the Earl of Carlisle.

Somerset House. Wills of:

Sir Wm. Stapleton (proved 28. 10. 1686).

Sir Wm. Stapleton (2nd Bart.), (proved 14. 3. 1701).

Dame Anne Stapleton (proved 26. 7. 1722).

Sir Charles Wheler (proved 8. 12. 1683).

## IV. PRINTED DOCUMENTS

"Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of Montserrat." From 1668-1740 inclusive. (London, 1740.)

"Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of St Christopher's." From 1711 to 1735 inclusive. (London, 1739.)

"Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of Nevis." From 1664 to 1739 inclusive. (London, 1740.)

"Acts of Assembly passed in the Charibbee Leeward Islands." From 1690-1730. (London, 1734.)

This last collection really consists of two parts, i.e.

(1) Acts of the General Assembly, 1690-1705.

(2) Acts of Antigua, 1668-1730.

The Acts of the General Assembly were also republished separately as

"Acts of Assembly passed in the Charibbee Leeward Islands." From 1690-1705. (London, 1740.)

All these collections only print in full those Acts which were in force at the time of printing. Earlier Acts are merely mentioned by title, and this list is by no means complete. See above, note on p. 243.

HOTTEN, J. C. "The Original Lists of persons...who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700." (London, 1874.)

This book consists of reprints of a number of documents in the Public Record Office. The only one of importance for this period is the list of emigrants from Barbados in 1678-9. (Pp. 347-418.)

OLIVER, V. L. (Editor). "Caribbeana." (London, 1910-1919.)

This is a quarterly publication dealing with the History and Genealogy of the British West Indies. A number of MSS. have been printed, notably Stapleton's Census lists. Copies are also given of some early records preserved in the Islands.

THURLOE, JOHN. "A Collection of State Papers of J. T. To which is prefixed a life of Mr Thurloe by Thomas Birch." 7 vols. (London, 1742.)

Contains letters from Governor Searle of Barbados, etc.

WARBURTON, E. "Memoirs of Prince Rupert." 3 vols. (London, 1849.)

The account of Rupert's voyage to the West Indies is reprinted.

JEAFFRESON, J. C. "A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century."  
2 vols. (London, 1878.)

This is a reprint of the letter book of Christopher Jeaffreson (see above, Jeaffreson MSS.). Christopher was the son of one of the original planters of St Christopher, and went out in 1676 to see the estate he had inherited from his father. There are 45 letters written from the island or on board ship (1676-1682), and 154 written after his return to England (1682-1686). There is also an interesting account of the letter-writer's voyage to the West Indies (vol. I, 167-181). Some of the letters are reprinted verbatim, others are merely summarised, and extracts given, without indication of the length of the original.

Winthrop Papers. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections. Fifth Series, vol. VIII. (Boston, 1883.)

Pp. 234-265 contain letters written by Samuel Winthrop, youngest son of Governor Winthrop, who settled in Antigua in 1647 and died there in 1677.

*Evelyn's Diary* contains references to Leeward Island business before the Council of Plantations (e.g., sub dates 14th Nov. 1671, 1st March and 19th April, 1672).

*Report of the Committee of the Lords of Council...concerning the present state of the Trade to Africa.* (London, 1789.)

The Appendices to this report contain some statistics of the early slave trade to the West Indies.

CLÉMENT, P. "Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert."  
8 vols. in 10. (Paris, 1861-1882.)

Vol. III, pt II contains the colonial letters: those to West Indian governors, etc., throw a good deal of light on the French attitude towards the restoration of St Christopher.

## V. EARLY PRINTED NARRATIVES

LIGON, R. "A true and exact history of the Island of Barbados—illustrated with a map of the Island." (London, 1657.)

Rather a description of the author's personal adventures, as a royalist refugee in Barbados, than a history of the island. It is useful as giving a contemporary picture of Barbados in the middle of the seventeenth century when sugar-growing was just becoming important.

DAVIES OF KIDWELLY, JOHN. "The History of the Caribby Islands."  
(London, 1666.)

A translation of the 2nd edition of Rochefort's *History of the Antilles* published in 1655 (see Dampierre, p. 138). It gives a description of each island, and a careful account of the growth and manufacture of tobacco, sugar, etc.

- P. DU TERTRE. "Histoire Generale des Antilles habitées par les François..." 4 books in 3 vols. (Paris, 1667-1671.)

For a critical study of this authority see Dampierre, pp. 120-124. The historian dwelt in the West Indies for several years, but after his return to Europe in 1657 he never revisited them. His account of the relations between French and English up to the Treaty of Breda is very minute and based largely on documents, many of which he reproduces *in extenso*. "Par sa documentation, non moins que par sa compétence personnelle, par sa méthode et par sa sincérité cet auteur est donc un historien non moins qu'un chroniqueur et une source de premier ordre, sinon même la première de toutes les sources de l'Histoire des Antilles" (Dampierre, p. 123).

- LABAT, LE R. P. "Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique..." 6 vols. (Paris, 1722.)

Although dealing chiefly with matters of a slightly later date, this work is useful for its description of sugar and tobacco manufacture, and for its plates, diagrams and maps.

- CLARENDON, EDWARD HYDE, 1st Earl of. "Life." (Ed. 1759, Oxford.)

Pp. 490-498 contain Clarendon's defence of his own policy in connection with the voiding of the Carlisle patent, the imprisonment of Samuel Farmer of Barbados, and the proposals of Marsh for the defence of the Leeward Islands. For an examination of the accuracy of his statements see above, note on p. 25.

- BESSE, J. "A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers." 2 vols. (London, 1753.)

Contains a section on the Quakers in Antigua. Compare also

- LANGFORD, J. "A brief account of the Sufferings of the Servants of the Lord called Quakers: from their first arrival in the Island of Antegoa, under the several Governors; from the Year 1660 to 1695." (London, 1706.)

- ESQUEMELING, A. O. "A History of the Bucaniers..."

For a criticism of this famous book see Haring, *Buccaneers*, pp. 277-282, and Dampierre, 150-154.

- DALBY, THOMAS. "An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies..." (1690.) Reprinted Harl. Misc. (ed. 1744). Vol. II, pp. 340-369.

Dalby Thomas was an important West India merchant who had dealings with the Royal African Company. His pamphlet is an attack on the extra duties of 1685, the enumeration clauses which led to a glut in the English market, the discouragement of merchants by the heavy sentences for alleged "spiriting" of servants, and on the monopoly of the African Company. It contains a great deal of information about the price of sugar, and the methods and cost of production.

- French Pamphlets. There are several rare pamphlets published in Paris in 1666-7 dealing with the capture of St Christopher, etc. (Cundall, "Bibl. W. I." p. 14). These are not in the British Museum Collection, and I have not been able to consult them.

## VI. MODERN WORKS: WEST INDIES

HARING, C. H. "Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs." (Harvard Economic Studies, xix, 1918.)

This deals with an earlier period: it explains the Spanish trade organisation and the early attacks of the Corsarios Luteranos.

NEWTON, A. P. "The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans." (Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany I, 1914.)

Throws some light on the early relations between St Christopher and Barbados, and Old Providence.

MIMS, S. L. "Colbert's West India Policy." (Yale Historical Publications, I, 1912.)

This study of the development of the French West Indies under Colbert's policy shows how the French tried to solve very similar problems to those which faced the English planters. The economic relations between the French and English planters are examined, chiefly with the help of French MSS. sources.

PITMAN, F. W. "The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763." (Yale Historical Publications, iv, 1917.)

Though this book deals with the economic development of a later period, it shows the results of the seventeenth century economic policy.

HARING, C. H. "The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century." (London, 1910.)

DAVIES, N. DARNEL. "Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados." (Argosy Press, Georgetown, British Guiana, 1887.)

Describes the Royalist movement in Barbados and its suppression by Ayscue in 1652. The earliest attempt at a critical reconstruction of a portion of British West Indian history.

MARGRY, P. "Origines transatlantiques: Belain d'Esnambuc et les Normands aux Antilles..." (Paris, 1863.)

The resurrection of a half-forgotten hero, and a description of his part in the French colonisation of St Christopher. Based on French MSS. sources but without references to them. (See Dampierre, pp. 178-180.)

DU MOTÉY, LE VICOMTE. "Guillaume d'Orange et les Origines des Antilles Françaises." (Paris, 1908.)

LUCAS, C. P. "A Historical Geography of the British Colonies." Vol. II. The West Indies. (2nd ed. Oxford, 1905.) Vol. III. West Africa. (3rd ed. Oxford, 1913.)

SCHOMBURGK, R. H. "The History of Barbados." (London, 1848.)

Of little importance for early history of the Leeward Islands.

BRYAN EDWARDS. "The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies." 3 vols. (4th ed. London, 1807.)

This is of very little value for early times. Edwards prints the Barbados Act for the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty, vol. 1, pp. 335-9. The maps are sometimes useful.

"Antigua and the Antiguans." 2 vols. (London, 1844.)

Very inaccurate and "popular."

## VII. GENERAL MODERN WORKS

BEER, G. L. (1) "The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660." (New York, 1908.) (2) "The Old Colonial System," Pt 1, 1660-1688. 2 vols. (New York, 1912.)

EGERTON, H. E. "A Short History of British Colonial Policy." (London, 1898.)

CHALMERS, R. "A History of Colonial Currency." (Stationery Office, n.d.)

This book is invaluable as a guide to the early currency problems. More light can be thrown on them by the careful examination of the early Acts of the various Assemblies.

ANDREWS, C. M. "British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-75." (John Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, xxvi, 1-3, 1908.)

GREENE, E. B. "The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America." (Harvard Hist. Studies, vii, 1898.)

A discussion of the constitutional powers of the colonial governor.

RUSSELL, E. B. "The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council." (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, lxiv, 2, 1915.)

Cap. 1 deals with the review of legislation prior to 1696.

TANNER, E. P. "Colonial Agencies in England during the Eighteenth Century." (Political Science Quarterly, xvi, pp. 24-49, 1901.)

The first few pages summarise the agencies of the seventeenth century.

EDMUNDSON, G. "The Dutch in Western Guiana." (*E. Hist. Review*, XVI, p. 640, 1901.)

This article contains a critical examination of Major Scott's account of the early colonisation of Barbados and Guiana. See also note on p. 56 above.

EGGLESTON, E. "Century Magazine," vol. VI, 1884.

(1) "Commerce in the Colonies," pp. 234-256.

(2) "Social Conditions in the Colonies," pp. 848-871.

The article on Commerce gives illustrations of the Boston coinage.

SCOTT, W. R. "The Constitution and Finance of...Joint Stock Companies to 1720." 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1910.)

Vol. II, pp. 17-35, deals with the organisation of the Slave Trading Companies.

TEDDER, A. W. "The Navy of the Restoration." (Cambridge, 1916.)

#### VIII. TOPOGRAPHY, ETC.

Admiralty Charts. Nos. 371, 487, 762, 956, 2600, 3273.

"The West India Pilot." Vol. II. 6th ed. (London, 1909.)

"The Seaman's Practical Guide for Barbados and the Leeward Islands..." by a Captain in the Royal Navy, 1832.

This contains a number of sailing directions and shows what courses it was possible to sail on different winds.

ASPINALL, A. E. "The Pocket Guide to the West Indies." (London, 1912.)

THOMAS JEFFREY. "The West Indian Atlas." (London, 1775.)

Maps in du Tertre, Labat, etc.

There is also a large scale map of St Christopher in the library of the colonial office, but contours and heights are not shown.

MUNDY, G. B. "The Life and Correspondence of the late Admiral Lord Rodney." 2 vols. (London, 1830.)

Gives many examples of the ways in which the Trade wind affected naval strategy and tactics.

"Churchill's Voyages." Vol. v, pp. 540-548. (London, 1732.)

Describes the passage from Guinea to America.



## IX. BIOGRAPHY

See "Dictionary of National Biography" articles on Willoughby, Walrond, Modyford, Sir Sydenham Poyntz, etc.

Sir WILLIAM STAPLETON. No biography other than untrustworthy details in *Baronetages*.

Sir CHARLES WHEELER. "Genealogist," N.S., vol. II, 202; vol. III, 41 and 216. Monumental Inscription, Leamington All Saints, Hastings.

Sir JOHN KNIGHT, Jr. J. Latimer, "Annals of Bristol in Seventeenth Century." (Bristol, 1900.) See Index.

Major JOHN SCOTT. (1) G. D. Scull, "Dorothea Scott."

(Privately printed at Oxford, 1883, by Parker and Co.) Contains a chapter on Scott.

(2) G. Edmundson in E.H.R. cited above.

(3) "Mornomont," vols. (2) in Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

## APPENDIX II

### TYPICAL CARGOES IMPORTED INTO THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

Extracted from the Reports of the Naval Officer, Nevis, for  
1686-7 (C.O. 157/1).

*England.*

“November the 29th 1686.

In the Pinke Mary of Bristoll, John Reade Master from thence viz:

133 bundles of hoops.  
25 Firkins of butter.  
9 barrels of ale in bottles.  
15 barrels of cyder in bottles.  
1 barrel of Brydalls and saddles.  
16 Hogsheads of cole.  
8 dozen of thread stockings.  
2 K.K. of nayles.  
300 weight of cheese.  
1 barrel Tallow.”

“June the 27th 1687.

In the Pink Rose of Bristoll, William Morgan Master from Bristol  
and Barbados viz:

2000 of hoops.  
2000 of staves.  
5 tons of beare.  
8 hhds of dry goods.  
20 casks of butter.  
200 weight of bread.  
500 weight of cheese.  
50 yds paving stone.  
Halfe a ton of wrought Iron.  
30 hhds dry goods.”

*Ireland.*

"June ye 22nd 1687.

In the ship Laurel of Bristoll, Francis Brown Master from Ireland  
viz:

2 chests dry goods.  
16 boxes candles.  
14 cask tallow.  
7 doz. of fells.  
3 boxes of soape.  
16 ton of ale or thereabouts.  
212 barrels of beefe.  
6 barrels of herrings.  
1000 weight of butter.  
600 weight of cheese.  
6 barrells 40 KKns. of Porke.  
2 Cask of Nutts. 1 Copper."

*Madeira.*

"May 2nd, 1687.

In the pink Friend's Adventure of London, William Wade Master  
from thence and Madeira vizt:

130 pipes Madera wine.  
39 Cases of spirits.  
9 hhds and 6 quarter casks of wine."

*New England.*

"October 2nd, 1686.

In the Ship Tryall of New England Barokiah Arnold Master from  
thence vizt:

1 barrell of onions.  
9 hhds of Bass fish.  
21 hhds of Cod fish.  
18 hhds of Scale ditto.  
27 Halfe barrells of Pork.  
10 Barrells of Mackrell.  
2 Barrells of Pickled Codfish.  
700 foot of boards.  
9000 of shingles.  
4 Tierces of Indian corn.  
1000 weight of bread.  
7000 hhd. staves."

*Local Trade.*

"March 4th, 1686/7.

Shallop Hopewell of Bermudas Thomas Moore Master from thence:

70 Turkeys.  
12 fowles.  
30 gallons of honey.  
100 prs. shoes.  
250 Cabighos.  
12 tubs butter.  
2 barrels beife.  
12 lbs of beese wax.  
40 cheeses.  
5 Horn Cattele.  
10 pcells of Hatts and Baskets.  
2 Seder Chests, 1 Barril Pork.  
3 Gallons Rose water."

"Nov. 8th, 1686.

In the pink Frances of Jarny David Lebretton Master from Cumana viz:

About 10 tons of salt turtle.  
20 or 30 bushells of salt.  
10 lbs of turtle shell.  
1 barrel of Montagoe or Turtle oyle."

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